

This dissertation has been 62-3988  
microfilmed exactly as received

DeVOS, Ton Pieter, 1926-  
A FIELD STUDY IN THE EFFECTIVENESS OF  
THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
IN THE NETHERLANDS.

The University of Oklahoma, Ph.D., 1962  
Political Science, international law and relations

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

A FIELD STUDY IN THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE  
UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
IN THE NETHERLANDS

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

TON PIETER DeVOS

Norman, Oklahoma

1961

A FIELD STUDY IN THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE  
UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
IN THE NETHERLANDS

APPROVED BY

Rufus L. Hall, Jr.  
John W. Wood  
J. Heek  
Oliver Dorman  
Gilbert C. Fite

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF FIGURES .....	v
LIST OF TABLES .....	vi
 Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION .....	1
II. THE COMMUNICATOR - UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE .....	8
<div style="padding-left: 40px;"> U.S. National Policy Objectives  U.S. Communication Policy Objectives  U.S. Communication Policy Objectives for The  Netherlands  United States Information Agency - Washington  United States Information Service - The  Netherlands </div>	
III. THE COMMUNICATION - METHOD AND CONTENT .....	55
<div style="padding-left: 40px;"> Informal Communication  Press and Publications  Motion Pictures  Radio and Television  Information Center Services  Special Events </div>	
IV. THE COMMUNICATION AUDIENCE - THE NETHERLANDS .....	99
<div style="padding-left: 40px;"> Socio-economic Patterns  Cultural Patterns  Political Structure  Media of Mass Communication </div>	
V. LONG RANGE EFFECTS .....	190
<div style="padding-left: 40px;"> The Process of Image Formation  The Dutch Stereotype of Americans  Changes in the Stereotype  The Process of Image Change  The Image Among Prep School Students  The Perception Element of the Image </div>	

VI. SHORT RANGE EFFECTS .....	225
Dutch Foreign Policy	
Placement Record of United States Information	
Service Materials	
VII. CONCLUSIONS .....	243
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	261

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Relationship Between National Policy and Communication Policy .....	14
2. Organizational Structure - United States Information Agency .....	31
3. Budget Requests and Appropriations for United States Information Agency, 1954-1960 .....	46
4. Review of Contents - News Bulletin of September 29, 1959 .....	61
5. Review of Contents - News Bulletin of October 6, 1959 ....	62
6. Review of Contents - News Bulletin of October 29, 1959 ...	63
7. Review of Contents - Cultural Bulletin of September 23, 1959 .....	64
8. Review of Contents - Cultural Bulletin of September 30, 1959 .....	65
9. Review of Contents - Cultural Bulletin of October 21, 1959 .....	66
10. Review of Contents - Labor News Bulletin of August 20, 1959 .....	68
11. Luncheon Period Movie Programs for December 1959 .....	86
12. Population Pyramid for The Netherlands .....	105
13. Comparative Personality Structures .....	120

# LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.	Nature of Parties Requesting Information or Material from Press Section .....	71
2.	Nature of Topics on Which Information or Material was Requested from Press Section .....	72
3.	Vital Population Statistics for The Netherlands .....	104
4.	Population Distribution by Provinces .....	106
5.	Population Distribution by Size of Communities .....	107
6.	Composition of the Working Population .....	108
7.	Contributions to National Income .....	109
8.	Occupational Prestige Stratification .....	112
9.	Attendance of Institutions of Learning Beyond Elementary Schools .....	122
10.	Party Identification in the National Teacher Sample .....	124
11.	Seats in the Second Chamber, 1913-1958 .....	130
12.	Political Questions Calling for Immediate Political Action .....	132
13.	Urban-Rural Location and Political Choice .....	133
14.	Urban-Rural Distribution Within Parties .....	134
15.	Distribution of Seats Among Parties - Committee on Foreign Affairs, Second Chamber .....	145
16.	Educational Background of "aspirant-ambtenaren" and "ambtenaren 5de klasse" Admitted to the Dutch Foreign Service, 1953-1959 .....	151
17.	Universities Attended or Graduated From same .....	151
18.	Pillarization of the Press as Compared with 1952 Election Results .....	159

19.	United States News on the Trunk Wires of Five Global News Agencies and Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau.....	167
20.	Periodical Subscribers by Geographical Regions .....	170
21.	Program Distribution Comparison Between Dutch and American Radio Broadcasting .....	178
22.	Images of Americans, Russians and Dutchmen .....	196



A FIELD STUDY OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE  
UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
IN THE NETHERLANDS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The primary purpose of this study is to formulate and apply a methodology for the evaluation of the effectiveness of the United States Information Service. This purpose will be pursued through the application of the proposed scheme to the operations of the United States Information Agency in one particular locale, The Netherlands. While testing the proposed methodology conclusions could be drawn with regard to the specific operation there. At the same time the evaluation outline could be adjusted on the basis of its effectiveness in this particular case. These considerations are all based upon the assumption that the only feasible method for evaluating the overall effectiveness of the total United States Information Agency can be a compilation of local or regional evaluations.

The choice of the locale for this field study was not conditioned solely by the strategic importance of the area. There is currently little question about the affinity of the Dutch people for America and Americans. The interests of the two countries are relatively harmonious. Consequently, there is not much immediate concern about the political actions in which the Dutch government may engage as regards the United States.

Even though there does not seem to be any immediate urgency

about The Netherlands, the United States can not afford to ignore the fact that even in the ranks of allies, the factor of lasting understanding and acceptance of the American point of view remains most important. Such good feelings are particularly desirable since the Dutch have traditionally assumed considerable responsibilities of leadership in international organizational affairs. Thus, long range affinities of the Dutch may well be considered valuable indicators of the possibility for the attainment of United States objectives through cooperation of the Western allies.

It should be mentioned that the determination of The Netherlands as a test area was greatly conditioned by my personal background. Having been raised and partially educated there, I am acquainted with Dutch economic, social, cultural and political institutions and have no difficulties understanding the language fully.

#### Methodology

The structure of the field study followed rather closely the suggestions of Rand Corporation's Davison and George<sup>1</sup> and the analytical approach to propaganda suggested by Doob<sup>2</sup> and descriptions by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis.<sup>3</sup> The following organization was followed: at first, an effort was made to establish the ends which the United States proclaims to pursue in its general foreign policy. The

---

<sup>1</sup>W. Phillips Davison and Alexander L. George, "An Outline for the Study of International Political Communication", Public Opinion Quarterly, XVI (Winter 1952-1953), 501-511.

<sup>2</sup>Leonard Doob, Public Opinion and Propaganda (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1948), pp. 546-553.

<sup>3</sup>Alfred M. Lee, "The Analysis of Propaganda: A Clinical Summary", American Journal of Sociology, LI (September 1945), pp. 126-135.

implications of these upon communication policy of the United States for the whole world and The Netherlands in particular were then established. Thirdly, a survey was made of the facilities and services available for the achievement of the communication objectives for The Netherlands. This consideration was placed into proper relation with the main information establishment in Washington. In the fourth place, the format and content of the output of the communicators was analyzed as the logical next step, followed by a discussion of the characteristics of the Dutch society and people. The latter was done to determine how individuals, groups and the society as a whole receive and perceive the American communication.

Finally attempts were made to point out certain effects of the American communication effort. In the discussion of these effects a separation is made between long range and short range effects. In this part of the study the emphasis lies on the establishment of a methodology for evaluation rather than on the ultimate quantitative determination of the USIS effectiveness in The Netherlands.<sup>4</sup>

The preliminary background research was done in the libraries of the University of Oklahoma and Oklahoma State University of Agriculture and Applied Science. Further library research was done in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., The Royal Library, The Hague, The Netherlands and at several Dutch university libraries. In The Netherlands I availed myself to a great extent of the Royal Library's Central Catalogue service. More particularly, use was made of the libraries of the Institutes of

---

<sup>4</sup>This would require great sums of money and a sizeable staff.

Sociology of the University of Utrecht and the Municipal University of Amsterdam, and the Institute of Modern History at the University of Utrecht. The librarian of the Second Chamber of the States-General was so gracious to make available materials not available in other libraries.

In Washington, D. C. contact was made with the United States Information Agency's Director of Research and Analysis, Oren Stephens. Interviews were also conducted with Dr. Leo Crespi of that Office's Public Opinion Research Section and James McDonald of the Office of the Director for Europe.

In The Netherlands interviews were conducted with Dr. M. Rooij, professor of journalism and Director of the Press Institute at the Municipal University of Amsterdam, Dr. S.J. Groenman, professor of sociology at the University of Utrecht, Dr. A.N.J. den Hollander, professor of sociology and Director of the America Institute at the Municipal University of Amsterdam, and Dr. M. Schneider, editor of the Internationale Spectator.

Considerable work was done in The Hague at the offices of the United States Information Service. Much assistance was received from the Public Affairs Officer, Mr. Snure; the Cultural Attache, Mr. Earl Balch; and the Information Officer, Mr. Lee Hunsaker. Many of the Dutch employees were most gracious in granting interviews and providing opportunities to study the facilities and materials.

The survey of preparatory school students in The Netherlands was greatly aided by the gracious co-operation of geography, history and English language instructors from six different schools in various parts of the country.

Public opinion poll results were obtained from two sources. Those covering the period from 1947 through 1952 were obtained from the

unpublished compilation in the World Association for Public Opinion Research file. This file is kept at the Press Institute of the Municipal University of Amsterdam. Marten Brouwer was most gracious in opening the files to me. Public opinion poll results since 1953 were made available by the Netherlands Institute for Public Opinion. Mr. J. P. Schravendijk, of that Institute's market research department, was most co-operative.<sup>5</sup>

The nature of this study and the subject with which it deals created certain difficulties with regard to the accessibility of vital materials. For instance, results of most significant opinion and attitude studies, carried out under contract for the Information Agency, were not available either from the Agency or the contractor. It should be understood, therefore, that certain existing sources were not used, and thus qualifications may be made concerning some aspects of the final conclusions.

It should also be pointed out that the nature of the United States Information Service program in The Netherlands greatly influenced the format of this study. A program which is mainly cultural and "soft sell" does not lend itself very well to statistical field studies of "before and after" opinions and attitudes. Therefore the general approach is the area approach rather than the survey approach, in spite of the pitfalls inherent in that format.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup>References to public opinion poll results will only be documented by indications on dates on which interviews were conducted.

<sup>6</sup>See Edward Berrol and Olive Holmes, "Survey and Area Approaches to International Communication Research", Public Opinion Quarterly, XVI (Winter 1952-1953), pp. 567-578.

The intensive research was done during a period of seven months, from June through December 1959. Six of these months were spent in The Netherlands for the actual field study.

#### Basic Assumptions

This study was carried out under several basic assumptions. International information was preferably called "international communication". This choice of terminology is based upon agreement with Lester Markel's concept of American responsibility. Markel suggests that the United States definitely desires to convince others of the acceptability to them of American objectives and policies.<sup>7</sup> Thus, the United States Information Service fits in the general framework of machinery and methodology wherewith the United States pursues its goals.

The ends that nations pursue in their general national policy are normally expressed in moralistic terms. The American people have traditionally felt strong aversions against propaganda. This distaste was mainly due to the idea that planned communication, i.e., selecting the facts that you will present to your hearer, violated the democratic assumption of the individual's ability to decide upon the basis of access to all the facts. International communication does not necessarily have to be a perversion of the truth, and thus it may well be perfectly acceptable to the American public.

---

<sup>7</sup>Lester Markel (ed.), Public Opinion and Foreign Policy(New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1949), pp. 16-17.

Hypotheses

The initial hypothesis states that the United States Information Service in The Netherlands suffers from a drastic shortage of funds, lack of adequate leadership, and serious gaps in the coherence of its program. It is assumed that these conditions are not to be blamed simply on past or current personnel in The Hague. Similar conditions seem to prevail in many other United States Information Service posts.

Secondly, it was suspected that evaluations of the program were carried out either under tremendous handicaps (primarily: lack of funds and pressure from certain vested interests in the Agency) or with little imagination. It was therefore assumed that the application of a more complete methodology might aid in the proper evaluation and consequent improvement of the Agency and its operations.

Thirdly, it appeared as if Congress and the American people as a whole lacked appreciation and understanding for the limitations and capabilities of international communication.

## CHAPTER II

### THE COMMUNICATOR - U.S.I.S.

#### United States National Policy Objectives

In order that proper perspective may be given to the communication objectives and policies of the United States for The Netherlands some general observations should be made concerning the national policy.

There is little dispute that the United States' national interest suggests self-preservation, security and economic well-being as primary long-range objectives. Immediate objectives derived from this supposedly rational chain of objectives vary from year to year and from circumstances to circumstances. The situational factors which condition the determination of immediate national policy objectives have varied considerably in the period of USIS operation in The Netherlands. Consequently the priority afforded the objectives of national policy has varied. This makes a simple survey or direct statement rather difficult.

Logical enumeration is also prevented by the nature of the policy making processes and agencies in the United States. Foreign policy is so tied up with domestic party and pressure group politics that it suffers considerably in continuity and consistency. The United States Information Agency has operated mainly in a period of split control of the political branches of government, a condition which merely tends to add to the confusion already inherent in the policy making system.

If any statement could be made in regard to United States national policy toward Europe, it should include the objectives of



relative military strength of NATO allies, a healthy European economy and increased integration on the Continent (in so far as the European nations find it desirable).

Since there is no basic contradiction between the ideals upon which the United States is founded and the democratic principles underlying the countries of Western Europe, there is but little concern about the objective of counterbalancing Soviet claims and accusations. Only in so far as the Soviet Union is able to sow seeds of dissension among the allies in this area and is able to arouse old fears and prejudices does Soviet propaganda need to be counteracted. The Soviet objective of rupture and tension in Western ranks might also bring about the necessary refuting of insinuations concerning the United States and its objectives in regard to specific Western European countries.

#### United States Communication Policy Objectives

One point that should be made quite emphatically at the outset of any discussion of communication policy objectives, is the fact that international communication has distinct limitations.

There seems to be little need to argue for an acceptance of international communication as a valuable instrument in modern politics among nations. The Drogheda Report on the British Information Services concludes simply and directly that "Information Services must today be regarded as part of the normal apparatus of diplomacy of a Great Power."<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup>Great Britain, Summary of the Report of the Independent Committee of Enquiry into the Overseas Information Services (April 1954), Miscellaneous No. 12 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1954), p. 6.

The Hickenlooper Report expresses itself in basically the same terms, as do many prominent authors on the subjects of international propaganda and psychological warfare.<sup>9</sup> Particularly as the importance of public opinion is recognized in the political process of a great majority of contemporary nations, international communication presents itself as a most logical instrument of international politics.

#### Limitations of International Communication

The greatest handicap under which the United States Information Agency seeks to perform its functions is the unreasonable, unrealistic expectations of its critics. For years -- and to a certain extent yet today -- those who are responsible for providing the means (appropriations) and providing guidance to the Agency's efforts, have expected too much too soon.

Secondly, it is rather ironic that many of the Agency's critics fail to appreciate the handicaps imposed by the democratic nature of American society. They ardently defend the right of the commercial

---

<sup>9</sup>United States, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Overseas Information Programs of the United States, Senate Report No. 406, Eighty-Third Congress, First Session (1953). E. W. Barrett, Truth Is Our Weapon (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1953), Wallace Carroll, Persuade or Perish (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1948), Jacques Driencourt, La Propaganda - Nouvelle Force Politique (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1950), Daniel Lerner (ed.), Propaganda in War and Crisis (New York: George W. Stewart, 1951), Lester Markel, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1949), William Sargent, Battle for the Mind (New York: Doubleday and Sons, 1957), John Scott, Political Warfare (New York: John Day Company, 1955), Oren Stephens, Facts to a Candid World (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955) and Charles A. H. Thomson, Overseas Information Service (Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution, 1948).

communicators to engage in their business without experiencing competition from the government program. And so it should be. The American democratic system is cognizant of the desirability of private enterprise and of open debate and discussion. Free speech, limited government, separation of powers, all these bring about a multitude of voices from America. It is rather miraculous that the USIA at times has been able to explain this confusion of tongues, let alone bring about co-ordination in it.

In contrast, the Soviet propagandists have at their disposal a single voice following and pronouncing a single line of policy and thought. The American democratic system does not have that, and does not really desire such.

Thirdly, international communication as such is limited in that it never may be regarded as a substitute for action or policy. Its nature distinctly requires it to be anchored in action. Weaknesses may be disguised for a period of time, they cannot be hidden forever. Psychological warfare actions as such cannot stand without having some basis in action.<sup>10</sup> Without any doubt a nation must have a foreign policy before it may be explained and be explainable to other peoples.

In the fourth place, whenever there are policies, which are judged and designed to be right for the United States, there is a frequent

---

<sup>10</sup>Murray Dyer, The Weapon on the Wall (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1959), pp. 35-37. See also Ralph Block, "Propaganda as an Instrument of Foreign Policy", US Department of State Bulletin, XXII (June 19, 1956), p. 988.

possibility that they by their very nature are unpopular abroad. The communication expert cannot be required to distort a policy in order to win a favorable public reaction, if this distortion would mean falsification of fact.<sup>11</sup> Dyer gives a very satisfactory justification of the basic premise that should underlie all international communication effort of open societies, the importance of truth.<sup>12</sup> In the long run systematic falsehoods torpedo further communication potential. The risk of losing a reputation for reliability and trustworthiness which is most difficult and most time-consuming in its acquisition, is too great (to say nothing about the moral implications of that sort of tactics).

In the fifth place, international communication may not be expected to impose an alien system of values on one that already exists. Any ethnocentric desires to preach the gospel of conversion to "our American way of life" should be abandoned before even being given any consideration.

Not even dictatorial domination could bring about such a conversion. Peaceful communicators are nevertheless justified to expect that, through communication, a common identity may be established with regard to the aspirations of American society and peoples overseas.

There are other limitations upon what may logically be expected of American international communicators. Due recognition needs to be given to the condition under which the communicant receives the

---

<sup>11</sup>The Advisory Commission on Information makes this point rather well in its Fourteenth Report (1959), p. 5.

<sup>12</sup>Dyer, pp. 23-28.

American message. Many peoples have been so subjected to Goebbels' indoctrination attempts and post-war bipolar propaganda warfare that they have developed a suspicion toward anything that might appear to be propaganda. This condition merely tends to emphasize the need for a careful, unhurried, soft-sell approach rather than for the crusading, pushy, hard-sell techniques most familiar to advertising and public relations men.

In this context, note should be made also of a peculiarly American shortcoming. American culture is highly ethnocentric. In spite of the fact that information personnel is mostly drawn from more cosmopolitan and more tolerant strata of American society, there still exists an uneasy tendency to lose patience and toleration, or to become haughty and demanding.

It should be rather obvious that these limitations must be fully appreciated before any consideration takes place on communication objectives and policies. They condition the approach taken and the goals expected to be pursued.

#### Need for Co-ordination Between National Policy and Communication Policy Objectives

It is clear that national policy objectives include the performance or omission of certain political actions by other peoples and/or their governments. These actions or omissions are assumedly based upon motivations which in turn tie in rather directly with attitude and opinion patterns. Attitudes are not acquired overnight; they evolve through a process of conditioning and curing.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, it seems imperative

---

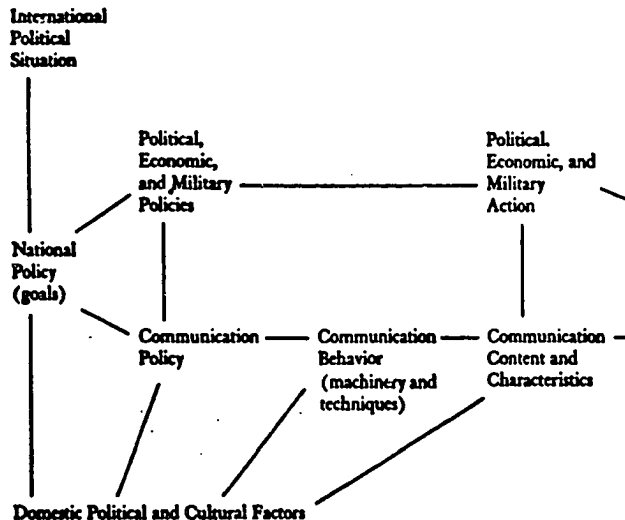
<sup>13</sup>H. J. Eysenck, The Psychology of Politics (London: Routledge and Kegan, 1954), pp. 249-259.

that a distinct tie-in exists between national policy objectives and communication objectives, such as the attainment of a favorable climate of opinion and trust in the United States and its objectives and policies. An international communication program which does not operate upon this basic premise can not be justified or tolerated.

Having found this intimate relationship between national policy and communication policy objectives, it must rightly be concluded that the policies designed to bring about these desired ends will have to be co-ordinated also. As Speier puts it: "National policy decides what is to be done, while communication policy decides what is to be said about what has been done and what will be done".<sup>14</sup>

The following diagram adequately visualizes this relationship.<sup>15</sup>

Chart 1  
Relationship between  
National and Communication  
Policy



<sup>14</sup>Hans Speier, "Future of Psychological Warfare", Public Opinion Quarterly, XII (Spring 1948), pp. 5-18.

<sup>15</sup>Davison and George, Public Opinion Quarterly, XVI, p. 506.

Need for Communicator's Participation  
in Top-Level Policy Making

If such close correlation is needed between national policy and communication policy it seems imperative that the professional communicator (the Director of USIA) be heard and heeded at the level where the national policy and its basic derivative policies are formulated. It is true that the Director is a member of the National Security Council, was a member of the former Operations Co-ordination Board, and attends regular meetings with the Secretary of State, and that in many posts overseas the Public Affairs Officer is present in the councils of local American policy planning.<sup>16</sup> There is, however, a great difference between being there and being heard.<sup>17</sup> Some boost by the President, Secretary of State or through the National Security Council might add considerably to the attention paid to the Director and his assistants. A real hearing is frequently not given until the individual and/or agency has established a reputation which commands prestige.

The USIA's access to the policy formulating process is limited today to those agencies that seek to choose the ways in which the United States will pursue its objectives; particularly at those levels where policy plans are being co-ordinated. This particularly applied to the Operations Co-ordinating Board (O.C.B.). Being heard there didn't do

---

<sup>16</sup>Advisory Commission on Information, Fourteenth Report (1959), p. 4.

<sup>17</sup>Arthur Krock tells about the NSC turning down a proposal that USIA should announce the intelligence-reported Soviet plans to launch an earth satellite. "Why We Are Losing the Psychological War", New York Times Magazine (December 8, 1957), p. 95.

anything but give the Agency the chance to find out what others had planned to do, and then allowed it to make a last minute valiant attempt to suggest timing and/or wording of the actions already decided upon.

This leaves a distinct lapse between the stages of policy origination and co-ordination. It is in the earlier stage of the policy making process that the communicator's advice and counsel would be most significant. In fact, true potential of international communication will never be realized when this fact is not accepted and followed up.<sup>18</sup>

One more thing, may be said: even if a better chance was afforded to the international communication experts in these earlier stages of policy determination, there does not automatically arise a guarantee of quality and coherence of national policy. Lester Markel uses rather direct language when he indicts the "halting and uncertain tones" in the top official voice of America and the lack of leadership asserted by the President.<sup>19</sup>

#### Need for Distinction Between Long Range and Short Range Objectives

Whenever one attempts to discern the objectives to be pursued through the nation's communication policies it should be recognized that a distinction needs to be made between so-called long range and short range objectives.

As was pointed out earlier international communication can not

---

<sup>18</sup>Dyer, pp. 73-83.

<sup>19</sup>Markel, p. 225.



be expected to perform magic at the spur of the moment. There needs to exist a certain backlog of good will to cushion the unexpected and somewhat inexplicable quirks of day-to-day diplomacy. Such a feeling of respect and understanding will facilitate the explanation of current themes, and as such it will allow the flexibility which is imperative for the meeting of urgent strategic requirements.<sup>20</sup>

Lerner refers to this good will overseas in terms of two basic problems: the problem that people either do not like us or distrust us. He suggests that the former condition - a condition of taste - may be solved by efforts geared to making them understand us. Distrust, which involves judgment, calls for persuasive proof that we merit confidence. Both of these problems require long range attention. As such, image building is a long term objective, and is important as long as we recognize the value of a true (and thus we hope: a favorable) image as a factor conditioning the priority demands of a foreign people's national interest.

This distinction between long range and short range objectives then places the explanation of current policies within the category of short range objectives.

An evaluation of the work done by the United States Information Agency can only approach reliability and usability when this distinction is consistently maintained. Evaluation of the Agency's work which ignored this basic distinction will automatically lose its direction;

---

<sup>20</sup>Thomson, p. 367.

evaluations of short range objectives achievement can not be carried out satisfactorily when the tie-in with long range objectives achievement is not understood.

### Long Range Objectives

Since Long-range objectives get down to the acquisition of pro-American or tolerant attitudes rather than opinions, they clearly will be the same regardless of the cold war, Russian expansionism or Red Chinese ambitions. Such is the nature of the adjective "long".

The Advisory Commission on Information suggests that these long range objectives should be mutually agreed upon by Congress and the United States Information Agency. Thus the Agency could protect itself against arbitrary criticism of Congressmen who in their anxiousness to see results tend to stare themselves blind on short range effects.<sup>21</sup>

Basic indications concerning long range objectives should be based upon Public Law 402 (Smith-Mundt Act, 1948). In Section 2 of this act it is stated that the objectives of the legislation are "to enable the Government of the United States to promote a better understanding of the United States in other countries, and to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries."<sup>22</sup>

These are purely long range objectives. Some argument may be

---

<sup>21</sup>United States Advisory Commission on Information, Thirteenth Report (1958), p. 17.

<sup>22</sup>Public Law 402 - Eightieth Congress, Second Session (H.R. 3342), The United States Information and Education Exchange Act of 1948, Title I, Section 2.

given about the Act's understanding of methods appropriate to these objectives. It seems that dissemination abroad of information about policies affecting foreign affairs is not a means toward the promotion of understanding and the increase of understanding, but rather the other way around. Mutual understanding will lighten the task of convincing the peoples of the world that the United States' objectives and policies are in harmony with and will advance their legitimate aspirations for freedom, progress and peace.<sup>23</sup>

The Fourteenth Report of the Advisory Commission on Information, while evaluating the functions of the USIA, makes several important points with regard to the Agency's long range responsibilities. In the first place, it points out that changes in attitude cannot take place overnight. Secondly, among peoples abroad as well as with the people of the United States there exists an innate interest in the varieties and peculiarities of life in these United States. This interest should be cultivated and met with the desired information. It is within this realm --understanding of American theories and practices about democracy-- that ignorance and misunderstanding is most often encountered. It is also at this level, however, that mutuality of objectives and aspirations must originate and be realized.

In the third place, the function of portrayer is a most difficult one. Americans have enough trouble among themselves in the day-to-day

---

<sup>23</sup>The latter point is particularly well brought out in President Eisenhower's directive to the newly independent USIA (Quoted in United States Advisory Commission on Information's Ninth Semiannual Report to the Congress, January 1954, p. 5).

application and interpretation of the democratic idea. To explain these day-to-day phenomenae to peoples of different cultures, who are unfamiliar with historic backgrounds, sociological and psychological factors in this society's problem areas, is not an easy assignment. This task, obviously, calls for different approaches and different methods for practically every country in the world. As was established before, American aspirations need to be related to the desires for freedom, peace and progress of the people America seeks to befriend. The relevant framework of the nation concerned will have to be the anchor of the timing and content of presentations for their consumption.

#### Short Range Objectives

Short range objectives tie in with long term objectives in the sense that both seek to further the national policy of the United States. Short term objectives have a more direct relevance to contemporary world conditions.

The priority ranking among short range objectives depends to a great extent upon the demands of the contemporary scene and world circumstances. Short range objectives could thus entail: acceptance of the United States foreign policy of a particular decade, year, month; the offsetting of misrepresentations and distortions purposely perpetrated by foreign propagandists; the bolstering of the morale of free peoples; identification of the United States with the progress of the laboring man; recognition of American interest in a higher standard of living for the masses of people the world over; awareness that the United States in fact and policy favors self-determination for former colonies; and the

acquisition of the offensive in the propaganda war.

#### Day-to-Day Objectives

The actual objectives which seem to guide the top personnel of the American communication establishment in their day-to-day decisions do not always jibe with those discussed above. Bogart tried to determine their relationship in a study made in the winter and spring of 1953-1954.<sup>24</sup> The only substantial conclusion that could be drawn from that survey was that a certain agreement existed on some points of policy and techniques. From the report it appears that day-to-day objectives are very difficult to recognize and formulate. Most communicators seem to work under the simple objective of wanting to create a favorable image or to selling the United States, and specific short range objectives do not appear to enter too directly into their considerations.

#### United States Communication Policy Objectives In The Netherlands

The application of overall communication objectives to the local situation in The Netherlands has to proceed by way of the regional objectives for Western Europe. The Advisory Commission in its Sixth Semiannual Report (1952) suggested the main objective of the program in Europe to be the maintenance and furtherance of public support of our contemporary policies which in turn were directed toward military defense, economic prosperity and a sense of security and strength through

---

<sup>24</sup> Leo Bogart, "A Study of the Operating Assumptions of USIA", Public Opinion Quarterly, XIX (Winter 1955-1956), p. 369.

unity.<sup>25</sup> This statement ties in quite well with the world-wide long range objective of "a favorable climate of opinion".

It should be apparent that there is no greater need for continuous goodwill than among the nations the United States considers to be allies. The Netherlands is such an ally; not of great power potential but one of international influence disproportionate to the size of its area and its population. Allies need to be cherished and maintained, because distrust arising within the ranks of traditional friends is a sure sign of serious troubles ahead. In spite of the fact that a sizeable reservoir of good will exists, each reservoir has its limits. Too much tapping or too much tinkering without proper attention for refill or mending might become chancy business.

Long range objectives speak for themselves and will not meet much opposition or interpretation. Where the differences in emphasis and timing create issues for dispute and criticism is in the realm of intermediate and short range objectives. These tend to depend to a large extent upon the political situation in The Netherlands and the Public Affairs Officer must have a certain sixth sense to detect where and when the emphasis should be.

In the intermediate category fall the objectives of acceptance of United States global and regional policies. These regional policies --in so far as they concern The Netherlands--include the North Atlantic

---

<sup>25</sup>United States Advisory Commission on Information, Sixth Semiannual Report to the Congress (1952), p. 6. It may be assumed that this same basic statement may also be applied for today's objectives.

Treaty Organization, and United States backing of the various institutions and schemes leading to European integration and the betterment of local economic conditions.

Immediate short range objectives vary from year to year and from month to month. They refer to such goals as: acceptance of Mr. Eisenhower's aerial inspection plan, understanding for United States reluctance to participate in summit conferences regarding the Berlin problem, recognition of the needs for continued hydrogen bomb testing, agreement with United States insistence on realistic and effective inspection schemes as basis for world disarmament, etc. This list could be and frequently is much longer.

Some criticism has been offered against multiplicity of objectives, especially since this tends to dilute USIS efforts.<sup>26</sup> Consequently new country plans have been developed which put emphasis on high priority, long range projects. A report from the Office of the Assistant Director for Europe points out that therefore an increasing segment of USIS efforts in the smaller posts is directed towards information centers and contacts with educational and cultural leaders. Media services have also become more selective in nature and largely cultural in content.<sup>27</sup>

As such it becomes clearer that in The Netherlands, as well as in other befriended countries that are firmly allied with the United States, the long range, cultural program is becoming more important,

---

<sup>26</sup>United States Advisory Commission on Information, Thirteenth Report (1958), p. 23.

<sup>27</sup>Quoted in the Advisory Commission's Fourteenth Report, p. 28.

while the hard-sell, immediate conversion tactics disappear more and more into the background.<sup>28</sup>

### The United States Information Agency

It is true that the achievement of information policy objectives for The Netherlands almost exclusively falls within the jurisdiction of the United States Information Service in that country. Nevertheless, it is imperative that we see the local operation in its logical operational relationship to the over-all information establishment. The nature and the resources of the mother agency condition to a very great degree what may be done in the field. The country operation does also quite strongly depend on the basic services of the Washington headquarters, operating through its regional points of co-ordination.

In order that the experience of the present information machinery may be properly evaluated and some causation for a frequently insinuated inefficiency and amateurishness may be established, a short resume should be given of the background of the United States Information Agency.

### Background<sup>29</sup>

Outside of psychological warfare activities of agencies such as

---

<sup>28</sup>See H. Field Haviland et al., The Formulation and Administration of United States Foreign Policy. Study No. 9 for United States Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Eighty-sixth Congress, Second Session (September 1960), pp. 874-877.

<sup>29</sup>Good histories of the United States information program may be found in Charles A.H. Thomson, Overseas Information Service of the United States Government (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1948); the Hickenlooper Report; and Maarten Schneider, "Amerika's psychologische strategie na 1945", Internationale Spectator, VIII (June 8, 1954), pp. 361-376.



the Office of War Information, the present evolved in late 1945. At that time President Truman combined the Office of War Information with the information activities of the Office of Inter-American Affairs in the Department of State, thereby creating the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs within that department.<sup>30</sup>

The program was modest and casual. Unexpended funds of the combined agencies were followed up with stopgap appropriations. The country and Congress could hardly be convinced of the need for extensive propaganda activities. The world promised to be peaceful, the United Nations seemed to provide the answer to the problem of conflict. Atomic warfare would suffice as a deterrent for any intelligent person or nation. Little cognizance was given to the fact that one nation, the Soviet Union, had been active in international propaganda for many years. We felt blessed with the "way of life" we had established and had ultimate faith in its goodness and consequent ready acceptance by others.

As the cold war begun to take shape and as Europe began to make worrisome and desperate moves for recovery rather clear evidences of anti-Americanism and just plain envy of our relative prosperity and peace forced themselves to be noticed. In this period from 1946 to 1948 little happened in the organizational adjustment for a long range, world-wide task. The Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs became the Office of International Information and Educational Exchange, reflecting the recognition of ever growing exchange of students and teachers.

---

<sup>30</sup> Executive Order 9608 - August 31, 1945.

Permanent legal status was afforded to the information program with the passage of Public Law 402 in 1948.<sup>31</sup> Pursuant to the instructions in this act the Office of International Information and Educational Exchange was divided into an Office of International Information and an Office of Educational Exchange. Each of these was headed by a Director, who in turn were directly responsible to a newly established Assistant Secretary of State.

The Office of International Information primarily directed its activities to critical areas and thus seemed inclined to turn primary attention to Europe. Not much could be said, however, of long range and imaginative planning and programming. There did not seem to be much understanding of what the information mission really was and what it might be expected to achieve.

President Truman tried to give some direction and theme to the information program in his speech of April 1950, when he called for a Campaign of Truth.<sup>32</sup> The basic approach to the problem seemed to lie in Mr. Truman's suggestion to counter-balance Soviet lies with the offering of truth to the uninformed and unconvinced. Of special interest was the suggestion that the United States should work with the other free nations in a "sustained, intensified program to promote the cause of

---

<sup>31</sup>Public Law 402 - Eightieth Congress, Second Session (H.R. 3342), The United States Information and Educational Exchange Act (1948), (Smith-Mundt Act).

<sup>32</sup>Speech given by President Truman, April 20, 1950, for the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington, D.C. (United States Department of State Bulletin, XXII (May 1, 1950), pp. 669-672.)

freedom against the propaganda of slavery." The desire for cooperation expressed then is often repeated but only occasionally practiced.<sup>33</sup>

Co-ordination of our own program was attempted through the establishment of a national Psychological Strategy Board. This Board was under the chairmanship of the Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, E. W. Barrett, and composed of representatives of the Department of Defense, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Central Intelligence Agency. Liaison representation was included from the National Security Resources Board and the Economic Cooperation.<sup>34</sup> The directive which established the Board seemed to answer the prayers of those seeking at least a certain channeling of the multitude of voices of America. The Psychological Strategy Board would have the responsibility for "co-ordinating foreign information and psychological strategy in situations where joint action by more than one agency of the government is required."<sup>35</sup>

The Strategy Board which reported (or was supposed to report) directly to the National Security Council never developed its potential.

---

<sup>33</sup>Except for purely local and occasional over-all co-operation with the information services of allied countries on matters such as NATO and European integration, the USIA and the respective national information services work separately toward their own objectives according to their own methods. It need not be pointed out that complete submersion of United States information policy with that of the other free nations -- under the present circumstances--is rather utopian and undesirable.

<sup>34</sup>In the meantime the E.C.A. under specific authorization of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948 had started its own information activities with much more money and much more bravura and, consequently, with more absolute result. Many Europeans are still stinking back to the days of the grand style of information offered to them under E.C.A..

<sup>35</sup>United States Department of State Bulletin, XXIII, (August 28, 1950), p. 335.

Its uphill battle soon became too much for its presiding officer (since June 1951), former Secretary of the Army, Gordon Gray. The Department of Dirty Tricks (D.D.T.), as the Board found itself referred to, became the victim of severe disillusionment within its own ranks.<sup>36</sup> At the same time the State Department continued its arduous objections against the uniting of control over white (or honorable) propaganda and the more sinister black (not always very objective and truthful) operations in one Board. Consequently, the State Department insisted on unilateral control over the more objective information program.

In the campaign of 1952 candidate Eisenhower frequently referred to the need for concerted propaganda efforts and so such psychological warfare turned into one of the minor campaign issues. Immediately after the Republican victory a study commission, composed of close advisors to the President-elect, was appointed to recommend what form the propaganda effort should take. The published parts of the study group's report reflect an awareness of the innate difficulties faced by the planners of any long range co-ordinated program of psychological warfare. It was clearly pointed out that propaganda is not a magic weapon, that it must--at the very least--be coupled with deeds. The close tie between the overall policy planning and psychological-strategic planning was also implied. The latter point had been the primary argument that had prevented the establishment of an agency separate from the State Department and had forced the information effort to be lost among the multiple

---

<sup>36</sup> Schneider, p. 368.

functions of that Department. The study group, nevertheless, advised to suspend the Psychological Strategy Board and to start working toward the erection of an independent bureau--directly responsible to the President through the National Security Council. This independent bureau should then bundle all propaganda efforts of State Department, Mutual Security Agency and those of the Point Four Program, while the management of the educational exchange would remain with State.<sup>37</sup> These basic recommendations were carried out and resulted in the establishment of the United States Information Agency.<sup>38</sup>

Since its erection this independent agency has had to fight many battles, mostly against terrific odds. In the first place, it was necessary to prove that the independence of the agency had not brought about the feared lack of consultation and co-ordination with the over-all foreign policy of the Department of State. It was the feeling of the Advisory Commission on Information that the USIA has been able to discern methods of getting policy guidance from the Department of State in Washington, and the country teams have been able to become an integral part of the diplomatic representations abroad.<sup>39</sup>

The second major difficulty faced by the agency lay in the area of personnel recruitment and management. Congressional budget hearings and McCarthy investigations tended to discourage sincere and dedicated men who increasingly refused to submit themselves to congressional abuses.

---

<sup>37</sup>New York Times of July 8 and 9, 1953.

<sup>38</sup>Through the President's Reorganization Plan No. 8 of July 1, 1952.

<sup>39</sup>Twelfth Report (1957), p. 15.

Thus it became more and more difficult to find competent replacements for those who left. And Congress took quite some years before the suggestions for the establishment of a career service were put into legislation. Thus harassment and job insecurity amplified personnel problems for many years.

### Organization

In order to come to an appreciation of the work of the United States Information Service in The Netherlands some attention needs to be given to the organizational structure of the mother agency, the United States Information Agency.<sup>40</sup>

The independent agency is headed by a Director, who is assisted by two Deputy Directors. One Deputy Director is charged with over-all agency supervisory duties and co-ordination of the media programs, the other has specific charges in the office of Policy and Plans.<sup>41</sup>

The Office of Policy and Plans is the primary staff organ within the agency. It collects national and foreign policy objectives worked out by the Department of State and other agencies concerned, and formulates out of these the information policy for the world-wide program of information. In addition of responsibility for formulation of policy, the office is charged with providing guidance in the application of that policy by the various geographic offices and medium services of the agency.

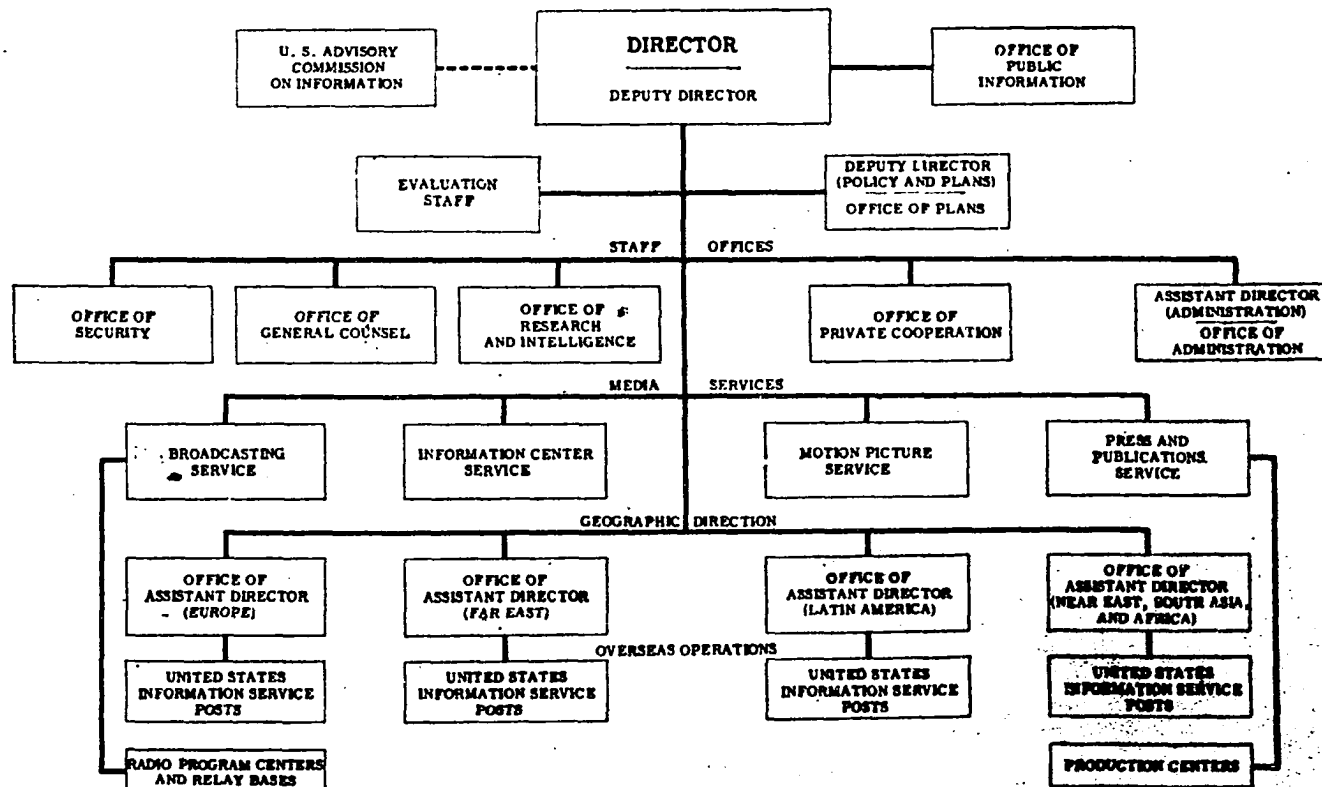
---

<sup>40</sup>The basic descriptions of the internal organization of the agency come from the United States Government Organization Manual, 1959-1960 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1960) pp. 508-509.

<sup>41</sup>These are known respectively as Deputy Director and Deputy Director (Policy and Plans).

Figure 2  
Organization Chart

# UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY



Suggested emphases and interpretations of certain ideas and events for the overseas programs also may originate here. Thus it is here that over-all, global planning is coupled with short range immediate guidance.

Of great help to policy formulators is the work of the Office of Research and Analysis, which prepares data on psychological factors and propaganda problems to be faced in the formulation of policy and plans. Its research provides guidance also to the planning and execution of programs run by the media services and furnishes continual evaluation of the operations and accomplishments of the information program, in large and small scope.<sup>42</sup>

The almost two hundred overseas information service posts maintained by the USIA in seventy-nine countries<sup>43</sup> are directed, co-ordinated and supervised through the geographic offices. The four area offices are responsible for Europe, Far East, Latin America, and Near East-South Asia-Africa respectively. Each area office is headed by an Assistant Director.<sup>44</sup>

The Area Assistant Directors supply the Policy and Planning Staff with information concerning peculiar field problems and requirements. In the operation of the mass media services they keep an eye on the

<sup>42</sup>This office has most recently been headed by Oren Stephens, whose Facts to a Candid World (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955) is one of the most authoritative discussions of our information program.

<sup>43</sup>United States Advisory Commission of Information, Thirteenth Report (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1958), p. 20.

<sup>44</sup>It is rather surprising to see that there isn't an Area Office devoted exclusively to Eastern Europe and China, which would correspond with the peculiar needs of those areas.



material being prepared and distributed in their area of responsibility. External policy co-ordination is carried out through consultation with parallel officials of State Department, the International Cooperation Administration and other agencies operating overseas. These same agencies are also consulted concerning common operational difficulties.

Within each area office there is a customary pyramidal sub-area, regional, country breakdown, similar to that found in the Department of State.

The service units upon which the overseas post depends most heavily are the media services. Within the organizational structure the USIA has: the Broadcasting Service, the Television Service, the Information Centers Service, the Motion Picture Service and the Press and Publications Service.

The Broadcasting Service operates the Voice of America programs in English and foreign languages. As far as direct broadcasts are concerned, Western Europe is one of the least important areas. The Broadcasting Service is much more helpful in friendly European centers because of its suggestions as to the technical utilization of radio program materials that may be broadcast through indigenous outlets as well as for its supplying of package-programs for such use.

The Television Service is rather new in operation. Its achievements are not rated too highly so far. It produces or acquires films and/or taped programs that may be available to local outlets also. Technical direction for a more effective use of the medium by the overseas information posts also falls within this section's responsibility.

The Information Centers Service supervises one of the most vital parts of the overseas establishment. Its responsibility includes the library program, the book distribution service, the English language training program and other information center services. Design, preparation and manufacture of exhibits is charged also to this service.

The Motion Picture Service contracts for the production of, or acquires through other channels, motion pictures in black and white or color, with or without sound, in English or appropriate tongue. These motion pictures are made available for use by overseas audiences--through the local USIS film section--or are shown to groups by the information staff. Some of this showing is done with mobile equipment, a part of which is distinctly designed for outdoor showings.

Press and Publications Service aids and supplies the vital press services of the overseas posts. This is done basically in two patterns: for direct distribution and/or display to the public and for reaching the reader through the overseas press.

The basic service to the USIS press sections overseas is provided through a six-days-a-week Wireless Bulletin, which is a 7,000 word news report, issued in several editions daily.<sup>45</sup> Transmitted by Morse code to regional distribution centers, this material is checked and processed there and passed on to local centers by teletype. For instance, the Hague receives its Wireless Bulletin from Paris. This bulletin contains mainly

---

<sup>45</sup>Descriptions of this as well as the other basic services performed by the Press Service are derived from Dick Fitzpatrick, "America's Campaign of Truth Throughout the World", Journalism Quarterly, XXVIII (Winter 1951), pp. 8-11.

official texts, summaries of Congressional and governmental actions and pronouncements, United Nations activities and United States press reactions to any or all of these.

In supplement to the Wireless Bulletin there is airmailed from Washington to the overseas posts an Air Bulletin, which is issued five times a week. It is primarily a collection of features -of 200-500 words each- as well as columns by the agency's commentators and background writers. This Air Bulletin is sent out on subject matter basis; i.e., there is a Labor Air Bulletin, Economic Air Bulletin, etc.

Professional societies in the United States aid the Press Section by making available material for five scientific newsletters -medical, surgical, dental, chemical, and pharmaceutical- regularly distributed through the press section.

Along with this material, the Press Section distributes great quantities of visualizations, taking the form of glossy prints and plastic plates. The Section's master file of visualizations also serves as a source for service in response to special requests made by press or individuals overseas.

Publications prepared and distributed through the Press Section are many and varied in nature. They range from the glossy color magazine Amerika to pamphlets on American history, American government, the aerial disarmament inspection plan, and the peaceful use of atomic energy. At times posters and photo displays are distributed by this section also.

For resident foreign journalists there is maintained a Foreign Journalists Liaison Service which helps to make material available on request and assists in planning trips, obtaining interviews and

conducting background research.<sup>46</sup>

Since 1956 the Advisory Commission on Information has been calling attention to the lack of co-ordination among the various media services. Each of these sections is manned by experts, working out ideas and programs for their own medium -ideas and programs often unknown to the other media services. As a result there frequently results a severe fragmentation and discouragement of creativity in the over-all media program.<sup>47</sup>

It was therefore suggested that an Assistant Director for Media be appointed. On January 16, 1959, the Director of the Agency announced that planning and co-ordination of the so-called fast media (broadcasting, television, motion pictures and press) operations would become the responsibility of the Deputy Director, while the Deputy Director (Policy and Plans) would be charged with the same duties in regard to the Information Center Service and the Office of Private Cooperation.<sup>48</sup> The nature of these two latter operations is primarily long range and educational, and as such they could properly be added to the present duties of the Deputy Director (Policy and Plans).

The Office of Private Cooperation is one of the most interesting, and one of the most difficult to organize and plan operations within the agency. Its primary responsibility was derived from Section 1005 of the

---

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.

Smith-Mundt Act, which recognized the government's obligations to the free enterprise principle. The Office is charged with the establishment and maintenance of the greatest possible co-operation between the USIA and non-governmental agencies and groups. Interesting possibilities were envisioned and are possible here, particularly in the field of institutional advertising by commercial establishments.<sup>49</sup> Here at home an ever greater amount of this sort of advertising is being done by private business; the same possibilities exist for overseas advertising by American firms.<sup>50</sup>

The Wireless Bulletin is testimony to the fact that it may be very difficult to obtain full co-operation from private business. This wireless news service originated because of shortcomings in the materials distributed by the commercial news agencies. Frequently, these agencies were guilty of incompleteness in coverage of official documents, speeches and background material, and committed the natural error to make the material marketable rather than maturely balanced in fact and composition.<sup>51</sup> Having been called to life by the necessity of needing to compensate for these shortcomings, the Wireless Bulletin is nevertheless labelled "unfair competition".

Successes achieved by the Private Cooperation office in obtaining

---

<sup>49</sup>Some interesting suggestions were made by John M. Begg in United States Department of State Bulletin, XXIV (March 12, 1951), pp. 409-412.

<sup>50</sup>Very attractive advertising of this sort is being done in elite newspapers and magazines in The Netherlands by the manufacturers of the Renault cars, in behalf of France.

<sup>51</sup>More will be said about this in Chapter IV.

a degree of co-operation from the publishing industry, motion picture industry and broadcasting industry should not be overlooked. This achievement has enabled the agency to engage in low-cost book distribution programs and has also facilitated the production, direction and manufacture of high quality material for motion picture and radio/television programs overseas.<sup>52</sup>

Private groups have been and are collaborating with the USIA and the Department of State in programs of exchange of persons and ideas. The People-to-People movement and the Field service scholarship program are only two examples of such co-operative programs.

Along with the units of internal organization discussed above may be listed three purely internal staff organs: the Office of the General Counsel, the Office of Administration and the Office of Security. The public relations for the agency are performed by the Office of Public Information.

The Agency as a whole is supervised and advised by the United States Advisory Commission on Information, which was established under section 601 of the Smith-Mundt Act. The Advisory Commission is paralleled by a commission on Educational Exchange.

According to Section 601 the Commissions should formulate and recommend to the Secretary of State (now Director of USIA) policies and programs for the carrying out of the purposes of the Act.

---

<sup>52</sup>United States Advisory Commission on Information, Fourteenth Report (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1959), pp. 33-34.

The Commission is composed and appointed according to rules comparable to those followed in regard to independent commissions within the executive branch. However, commission members receive no salaries, but merely compensation for transportation and expenses for attending the approximately four meetings a year.<sup>53</sup>

The present Commission is headed by Dr. Mark A. May, Director of the Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, and has a membership drawn from journalistic, public relations and industrial management circles.

The work of the Advisory Commission is facilitated by the establishment of several Advisory Committees with more specific responsibilities. Two of these are active today: the Broadcast Advisory Committee and the Advisory Committee on Cultural Information.

The observations and suggestions of the Commission and Committees are made available to Congress in the form of annual reports.

#### United States Information Service - Netherlands

The USIS in The Netherlands operates ~~at the moment~~ out of The Hague, the site of the government. Before the latest drastic budget cuts affecting the information service in The Netherlands, USIS had two establishments, one in The Hague and one in Amsterdam. When in 1956 a decision had to be made on where the cuts should fall, the Amsterdam

---

<sup>53</sup>Under original instructions the commission met once a month for the first six months after its establishment, and issued reports to the Secretary of State on a quarterly basis and to Congress semi-annually. With the aging and maturing of the information establishment the frequency of meetings and reports was cut.

library and offices were closed. As soon as the move was announced there were many protests voiced by the residents of the picturesque capital city.<sup>54</sup> It is purely academic to try to decide how much of this protest was the result of hurt pride or of a distinct void in the life of the residents of the capital city.

There are questions in many Dutch people's minds as to the wisdom of the selection of Amsterdam as the cut victim. It is quite plain that the location in The Hague was most attractive because of the facilitated co-ordination with the diplomatic establishment. Planning a new embassy building there also made possible a monetary saving by erecting one structure that could house both the diplomatic establishment and the USIS.

It should be pointed out, however, that the British Council -no amateur in cultural relations- and the French information service operate from Amsterdam. Several reasons could be cited for the choosing of Amsterdam:

In Amsterdam are located the main offices and the publishing facilities of at least four of the major national daily newspapers; this in contrast to The Hague where there is only one national paper with minor circulation, plus some local and regional newspapers. Parallel circumstances exist for opinion weeklies. It seems faster for one of these journalists or editors or column writers to jump in his car or jump on a streetcar to USIS press service for some information or photos rather than having to make a long distance call and wait for next morning's mail.

---

<sup>54</sup>The evaluation officials of the USIA point with pride to this negative evidence of effect.



In Amsterdam the magazine and book sales per capita are also higher than in any other city in The Netherlands. The Rijksmuseum and the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra are known the world over. It is a distinct culture center, if not the most distinct in the country. There are two major universities in Amsterdam. The Hague has a small graduate school. The Press Institute, affiliated with the Municipal University of Amsterdam is one of the best journalism schools in Europe. Its work in the field of communication and press research is recognized the world over. The America Institute of the same university is the best equipped in Western Europe and gains in stature every year. Although the students of social and political sciences at the University of Amsterdam are known to be radically liberal, they will count among them many future leaders.

Amsterdam is a more populous city. The age structure of its population shows that there is a greater percentage of young people, of high school and college age, than in The Hague and a small percentage of people of retired age.

Amsterdam is located just several miles from the transport center of the nation (Utrecht). The outlying districts of the country can be reached faster and easier from here than from The Hague. The airport of the city of Amsterdam serves as the national terminal for Trans-Atlantic traffic. It is here that the planes arrive from the United States with the rush materials from Washington, such as films, tapes and records. Much of this material will be used at the radio and television center at Hilversum, only several miles from Amsterdam. Because of the

time element involved, presently a USIS employee must drive from The Hague to the Amsterdam airport and from there to the television studios near Amsterdam, and after delivery of the desired goods, back again to The Hague. All these miles merely tend to slow down and make more cumbersome one of the most effective parts of the media programs in The Netherlands: the supplying of news clips for television news programs.

These are but some of the reasons why the choice of the Hague as USIS location is open to some criticism.

#### Facilities

The USIS in The Hague avails itself of a rather unique combination of facilities. On July 4, 1959, a new embassy building was dedicated. This \$1.5 million dollar building is the most expensive embassy constructed by any nation there.

The location of the embassy is superior for diplomatic purposes: in the heart of the city, at about three blocks walk from the parliament buildings and the major executive departments. It is just across the street from the Koninklijke Schouwburg (Royal Theatre), one of the city's cultural centers.

There is, however, one thing that has been rather hard to understand and accept by many Dutch people, especially those who are traditional -and most Dutchmen are. The Marcel Breuer embassy design carried out in concrete with limestone is distinctly modern in line and over-all appearance. The surrounding and connecting buildings date back to the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century. Thus, the American embassy is the first and only atmosphere breaker in the five square block area. The building

is interesting in design, it has utilitarian value, and as such we might call it an appropriate symbol of the American way of life. But some are still saying: "Did it have to be put in this location". If the embassy had to be there could not the design have been somewhat more in harmony with the traditional dignity of the surrounding buildings?<sup>55</sup>

The L-shaped building is so designed that the USIS has almost exclusive use of a complete wing. By providing the people using USIS facilities with a separate entrance, an attempt is made to divorce the information facilities from the regular diplomatic establishment. Some question may be raised here as to the desirability of having library facilities in the same building which is the symbol of American sovereignty. It might be more advisable to have the reading room in a location away from the embassy, along the same principle as the Christian Science reading rooms in locations of heavy pedestrian traffic.

Within the embassy building -connected with the USIS wing there is an auditorium which seats 125 persons. The chairs in this room are removable so that the auditorium may also be used for exhibits, displays, etc. The projection and sound equipment is truly outstanding. Two commercial or 35 mm projectors are coupled with two 16mm projectors, a rather unique combination. All this is high quality German-made equipment.

The motion picture section manages the collection of some 600 sound motion pictures. The film section also has its own projectors and

---

<sup>55</sup> This idiosyncrasy seems to be somewhat in contrast to attempts in other capitals, like New Delhi, to reflect local background.

screens, portable units that may be used for open air as well as indoor showings outside The Hague. This equipment is maintained and repaired by personnel of the section.

The library provides access to some 9,000 books and to a large collection of American magazines. The reading room facilities are ideal. The location of the reading room is perfect for quiet and undisturbed reading and browsing. The check-out desk is located in such a fashion that the traffic there does not interfere with the quietness of the reading room.

#### Budget History

The financial history of the USIS establishment in The Netherlands shows some correlation with the history of the appropriations for the world-wide information activities of the United States Information Agency.<sup>56</sup> There is, however, some deviation from this total budget's fluctuations because of the relative strategic importance of Western Europe and friendly countries in that area, at particular times and under certain circumstances.

Comparisons between operating funds and/or costs for the program in The Netherlands over a period of some years is a rather chancy business. The variety of financial reports which incorporate cost calculations, as found in budget hearings tends to be misleading.

Mr. Ben Posner, Budget Officer for the USIA suggests that the most realistic comparison may be made on the basis of funds made available

---

<sup>56</sup> See Figure 3.

locally to the country program for general operating expenses.<sup>57</sup> On this basis the budgets for USIS operational expenses in The Netherlands run as follows:

1954	-	\$153,579
1955	-	139,230
1956	-	154,135
1957	-	173,126
1958	-	98,295
1959	-	101,504

No comparison is made here with the funds available before 1954. At that time there was an abundance of money since ECA funds were coupled with regular information funds and there didn't seem to be a limit to the things that could be done. There are still fond memories with Dutch people as well as with today's USIS personnel of these plush days.

Just taking the figures from 1954 through 1959 (on operating expenses; this excludes certain categories of costs, such as salaries of American personnel and administrative expenses reimbursed to the Department of State) there is clear evidence of severe fluctuations. A drop of approximately 44%, such as occurred between the fiscal years 1957 and 1958, presents the most severe impediment to consistency and continuity of information activities one could imagine.

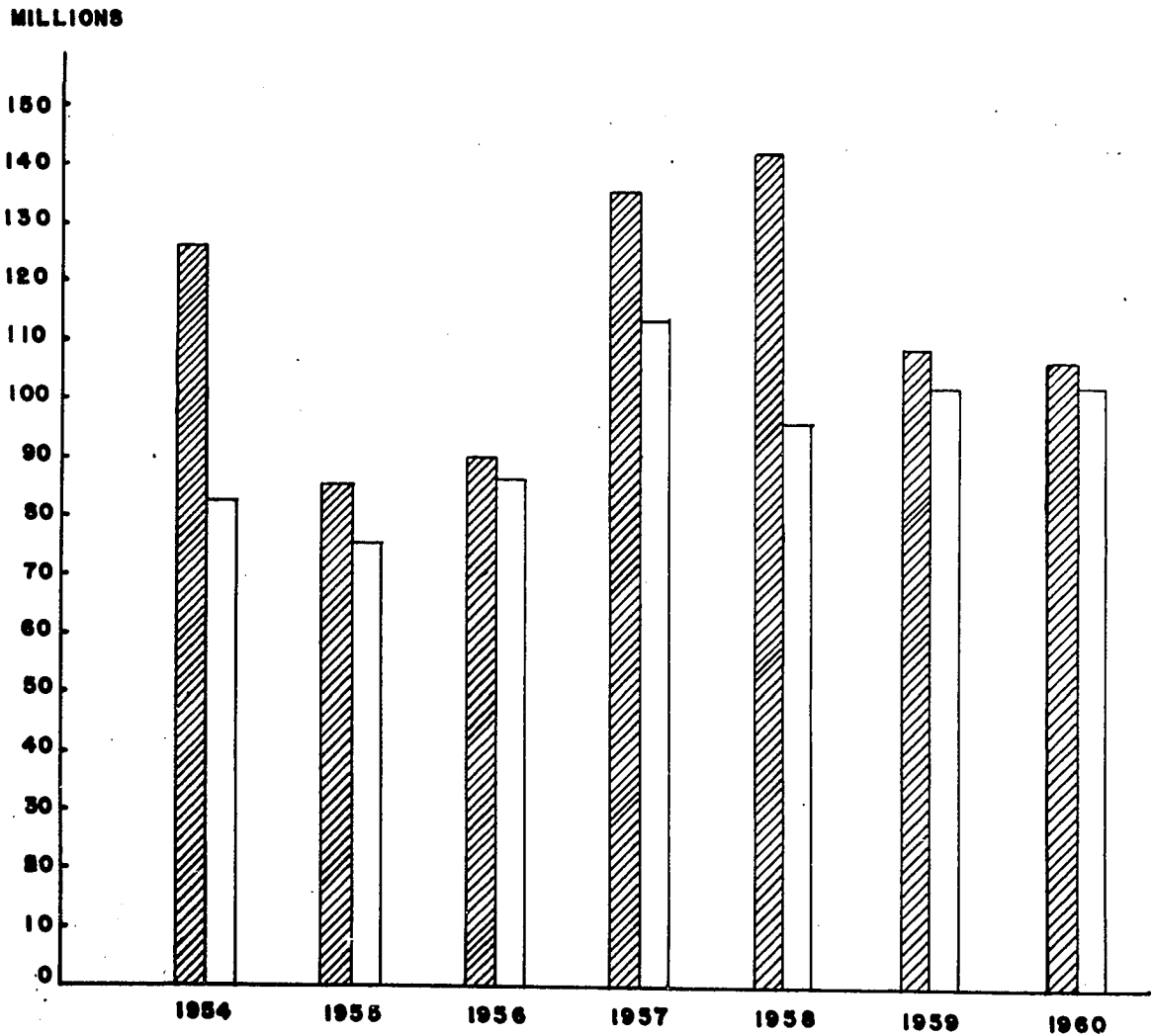
It seems explainable that The Netherlands will be one of the first places where cuts will occur whenever cuts are necessary. When the whole world-wide information program has to be run on a contingency basis there will undoubtedly be areas receiving more priority than this friendly ally.

---

<sup>57</sup>From a personal letter from Mr. Posner, dated February 24, 1960.

Figure 3

BUDGET REQUESTS AND APPROPRIATIONS  
for  
United States Information Agency  
1954-1960



\* Fiscal Year 1954 requests and appropriations represent the following activities: International Information Administration (State Department), Government in Occupied Areas (State Department) and Mutual Security Agency.

All information obtained from United States Information Agency.

Thus, an indictment of the unreliability of financial resources for the program in The Netherlands will almost automatically be turned into an indictment of the over-all financing problem of the USIA. It again reflects the short range, reacting characteristics of our information program. The question is immediately raised: Wouldn't a more consistent and continued program present a more sophisticated, calmer opportunity for information than a opportunity-conditioned hard-hitting last minute effort to explain away blemishes on the record

The misunderstandings and areas of ignorance about the United States and the American people need to be dealt with on a long range basis and in a very subtle manner so that a more or less lasting feeling of goodwill may exist that will be able to absorb some immediate and temporary inconsistencies. Just as much as the individual working man in industrial society needs some sense of security to enable peace of mind and greater efficiency of his creative effort, the information specialist is faced with same need: security of funds so that planning is not an idle dream...

It is interesting to note that operating expenses for the country operation are not the only costs for USIA. For the fiscal year 1958 a sum of \$39,000 was paid to the Department of State as reimbursement for shared administrative costs.<sup>58</sup> This sum is the result of negotiations between the Department and the Agency, and is figured on the basis of facilities and office equipment, office material supplied, dispatch expenses, etc.

---

<sup>58</sup> These 1958 and 1959 breakdowns come from a fact sheet for internal Agency use, identified as IOA/B - 7/21/58.

For 1959 there was estimated \$44,245 for "American salaries".

This is understood in correlation with the number of authorized American positions for the post for the fiscal year. There are four such positions in USIA - The Hague: one Public Affairs Officer, with the rank of attache (FSS 3), the highest ranking member of the USIS staff; one Information Officer, particularly charged with the supervision of the media services; one Cultural Affairs Officer (who doubles as Cultural Attache within the Embassy), working primarily in the field of exchange of persons, and a female secretary for the Public Affairs Officer.

When applying the number of authorized American positions to the "American salaries" estimate allowance within the post's allotment, we would have to conclude the average salary to be approximately \$11,000. The secretary presumably will not earn more than \$6,000 per year. This brings the average for the three male officials to approximately \$13,000 per year, which happens to be quite a good salary. This is particularly true when we consider that so frequently these men don't know the language of the country and/or do not stay in one place long enough to familiarize themselves fully with the value system and social structure of the country they are expected to "inform".

The actual operating expenses -as mentioned above- amount to \$101,504. Considering that the salaries allotment was planned to be approximately \$4300 higher than fiscal year 1958 and the increase in operating expenses was approximately \$3300, it seems as if the salary of the allotment is becoming proportionately larger.

With general operating expenses being only twice as much as total "American salaries" and these operating expenses having to include the



salaries of 23 foreign nationals' positions as well as actual material and service expenses, the question arises when the point of no return will be reached.

#### Personnel History<sup>59</sup>

Certain general observations are in order about the United States Information Service Personnel in The Hague. In an overseas post of this nature the individuals providing leadership leave a distinct imprint on the operation. With few people sharing a multitude of policy and supervisory responsibilities, and a relatively small number of foreign nationals to perform the line functions and menial tasks, the ingenuity and personal adaptability of the top personnel is tested strenuously. There are certain facts and observations that may to some degree reflect upon this close correlation.

It was pointed out that there are currently four authorized American positions, three of which could be called "top leadership positions. There is, in the first place, the Public Affairs Officer, who commonly is the person in charge. By December, 1959, the average duration of assignment in The Hague as Public Affairs Officer was two years and seven months. Disregarding one very short assignment of eleven months, the average for the remaining four postwar PAO's is three years. Considering that in almost every case the newly appointed PAO would need time to learn the native tongue (either from scratch or from a virtually

---

<sup>59</sup>The vital statistics worked into this section are extracted from The Biographic Register of the Department of State, and Related Agencies, for 1958 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1958).

halting position), to be familiar with native mores and influence patterns, and to make contacts so necessary for effective promotion work, there is little time left for prolonged effective service.<sup>60</sup>

None of the Public Affairs Officers had previous international information experience, except for one who had served in The Hague for one year as Information Officer. Previous assignment of the others were with State Department in Washington or wartime military experience. Assignments after leaving The Hague included State Department, USIA -Washington, and one shift of duties within the post itself (from PAO to Cultural Affairs Officer). Formal education received generally carried beyond the Bachelor's degree, with one MA and one PhD.

Age at the time of assignment as PAO until 1957 ran around 35 years. Since then (including the newly appointed PAO, whose term is not included in the present study) the incoming age has been about 50 years.<sup>61</sup> No conclusions may be definitely drawn from these age data, except that awareness may have come about that a more advanced age is more in accordance with the age level of the Dutch people the PAO will be working with.<sup>62</sup>

---

<sup>60</sup>This in sharp contrast to the French cultural representative who has been in Amsterdam for approximately twenty years.

<sup>61</sup>The newly appointed PAO is a refreshing change to the rule. A native American, widow of a Dutch resistance hero, she is familiar enough with both cultures and languages to hold great promise.

<sup>62</sup>One Dutch intellectual characterized the typical American information officials as "nice boys from a small Midwestern town, with boyscout idealism, and a complete lack of understanding of Dutch social stratification and etiquette".

About the characteristics of Information Officers not much can be determined, except that the average age of beginning assignment seems to be higher. From the little data available, it appears that each of the last three Information Officers has served just about one year in that function. This seems to be a rather short time for assimilation and making of necessary contacts.

There is a greater stability within the position of Cultural Affairs Officer. The average duration of assignment here is four years and four months, with a total of three Cultural Affairs Officers since the war. In contacts with Dutch individuals who would be assumed to have contact with and knowledge of the operation in The Hague one hears most frequently the names and achievements of the Cultural Affairs Officers. They seem to have been successful in making the desired personal contact with the local cultural elite.<sup>63</sup>

Before the budget cuts of 1956 there were other American positions. There was a Public Affairs Officer for the Amsterdam post, a librarian and information assistants.

Some criticism is heard occasionally about the virtual isolation under which the American colony lives. Most of the embassy and information people live in a suburb of The Hague and have their own or diplomatic social life. There is frequently a distinct lack of genuine mixing with

---

<sup>63</sup>There are exceptions. There is the CAO who invited the Presidents of the major universities to his office for a consultation about the Fulbright program. (Rector Magnifici, i.e., university presidents are of such high prestige ranking that even our Ambassador must be quite polite and diplomatic in approaching them).

the Dutch population and/or persons of similar social status. There is also the usual barrier of relative wealth of the American official as it is expressed in the car he drives, the house he leases, the manner in which he decorates his house, the antiques he buys and the wages he pays for domestic help. The latter criticisms seem rather ridiculous and irrational, but they are real and quite understandable. It is strange that the information personnel should be among those who are most offensive by their wealth and thus arouse some of the envy which results rather naturally from "conspicuous spending".

The USIS - The Hague employs approximately twenty Dutch nationals. These nationals head media services, perform staff functions within these sections, do library work, and engage in the varied menial tasks, such as secretarial, mimeographing, mailing, film maintenance and showing, filing and reception work.

It should be pointed out that some of these nationals are providing the continuity to the information effort. Half a dozen of these people have been with USIS for ten years or more. Consequently, the American personnel relies heavily upon them for orientation as to past activities. Because of the relative isolation or lack of understanding of native ways and personages by the American personnel a rather extensive reliance is placed upon these Dutch employees for information regarding the Dutch point of view. This is a short cut, which is not always the best to take. These people are most honest, but they are human, and as such they become infested with the ideas they handle or associate with. It seems not more than natural that these people tend to lose honest

evaluative potential in direct correlation to the duration of their association with USIS.

#### Relations with the Diplomatic Establishment

In its Sixth Semiannual Report to Congress the Advisory Commission on Information faced squarely the problem which had been plaguing the information establishments ever since their first appearance on the diplomatic scene. This problem related to the tie-in between the diplomatic and information personnel in the overseas posts.<sup>64</sup>

At that time "destructive sniping" between Foreign Service and USIS personnel in Latin American posts was mentioned.<sup>65</sup> It was also pointed out that the Commission's chairman during his 1949 inspection tour of European missions felt that information personnel were not afforded the ranking appropriate to the importance of their responsibilities. Among diplomatic personnel there seemed to exist a habit of stereotyping information people as tourist agents or advertising men, and a simultaneous disdain for the non-sophisticate.

Until 1954 no definite agreement had been reached on the diplomatic status of information personnel. On June 21, 1954, the USIA and the State Department reached an agreement giving information people diplomatic status and diplomatic passports as was customary when the information program was a part of the State Department. In spite of this legal classi-

<sup>64</sup> Advisory Commission on Information, Sixth Semiannual Report (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1952), p. 18.

<sup>65</sup> Advisory Commission on Information, Tenth Semiannual Report (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1955), p. 8

fication the status of information experts within the several overseas establishments was determined basically by the Ambassador and the personnel rating of the information man. This naturally caused considerable variation from country to country.<sup>66</sup> In 1955 the Advisory Commission recommended that the Public Affairs Officer should be raised to the rank of counselor.<sup>67</sup> This suggestion was followed in most instances.

In The Hague the Public Affairs Officer ranks third within the hierarchy of the mission. As such he participates in the daily morning briefing and conference of top officers. With his Information Officer and Cultural Affairs Officer he sits in with other ranking embassy officials in the weekly briefing session.

Theoretically, we may thus say that the information experts are given a chance to voice their suggestions within the context of the embassy's policy meetings. It is very difficult to state how much attention is given to the suggestions of the Public Affairs Officer. The assumption must be that circumstances, such as the personality of the ambassador, the compatibility and willingness to co-operate of the ambassador and the Public Affairs Officer, condition the actual voice of the information personnel in policy of the diplomatic establishment. From all surface evidence there did not seem to be any sharp antagonisms or distinct refusals to co-operate with one another. It may therefore be assumed that a certain routine consultation took place. The results of such co-operation can hardly be ascertained.

---

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE COMMUNICATION - METHOD AND CONTENT

Theoretically speaking, it is assumed that after the communication objectives have been determined and defined, and the responsibility for the communicative task is known, the actual communication with the selected audience will take place. This leads to what Davison and George call "Communication behavior and content".<sup>68</sup>

The United States Information Service in The Netherlands bases its communication behavior on two elements: the suggestions and/or materials supplied by the mother agency (United States Information Agency - Washington) and the expected reactions of the Dutch target public(s). Trying to describe the exact degree of coalescence between these two elements is virtually impossible. It might be said that the USIS personnel -be they American or Dutch- employ their best judgment as to what they consider to be the right action and the right 'angle' for the action of communication. In this way they determine what of the supplied material is adaptable or usable in The Netherlands.

There are certain basic premises that must underlie this communication behavior: a sincere attempt must be made to relate the subject to be communicated to the experience of the target public; the wording or presentation of the communication shall be made in language recognizable

---

<sup>68</sup>Davison and George, pp. 508-509.

as the native tongue (without anglicization or other distortions); as much as possible, the target public should be left to draw its own conclusions on the basis of being confronted with both sides of the issue; the picture presented should be balanced so that the United States may be spared reactions of disgust or distrust by an audience that feels itself cheated and misled; the material may not be chauvinistic or propagandistic in its wording or presentation; and the material should not be forced upon the public but rather be made available to them.<sup>69</sup>

#### Informal Communication

The actual communications take many and varied forms. In the first place, there is the personal contact. The best communication undoubtedly takes place under face-to-face contact conditions, provided the parties involved speak the same language and/or have common interests. Personal contact by proficient communicators might take place at various levels and under varying circumstances. There might be the chat over the cocktail glass at a reception, the intermission conversation at a concert, the discussion over a cup of coffee at a sidewalk cafe, or the friendly game of golf at the club. The amount of this face-to-face contact taking place in The Netherlands between United States personnel and Dutch individuals, of strategic importance, cannot be expressed statistically, if it can be ascertained at all. This sort of communication activity is undoubtedly taking place some of the time. For instance, receptions were held at the time of the dedication of the new embassy building (July, 1959),

---

<sup>69</sup>Ralph K. White, "The New Resistance to International Propaganda", Public Opinion Quarterly, XVI (Winter 1952-1953), p. 240.



and the time of the Leonard Bernstein New York Philharmonic Orchestra concert in the fall of 1959. In October of that same year an informal gathering took place at the home of the Cultural Affairs Officer. Some Dutch literary personalities were invited to enable them to meet Erskine Caldwell, who was in transit to Moscow.

The United States Information Agency has been encouraging the personal contact method and has subsequently been pressing Congress for increases in representation allowances. However, lack of money is not the only difficulty encountered in this area of activity. Americans are basically outgoing personalities with enough sense of personal insecurity to make the befriending of the cool, phlegmatic Dutch intellectuals and socialites a most discouraging experience.<sup>70</sup>

Formal communications by means of the fast as well as the slow media of communications take many forms other than personal contact. These additional methods and forms will be discussed in the following order: Press and Publications; Motion Pictures; Radio and Television; Information Center; and Special Events.

#### Press and Publications

Even though the organization of the mother agency unifies press and publications into one office, in The Hague these responsibilities are dispersed among several Dutch nationals, who do not necessarily operate under the direct supervision of the same American official. For all practi-

---

<sup>70</sup>A more detailed discussion of this problem will be given in Chapter IV. See also the discussion on the choice of The Hague as the home base for USIS, in Chapter II.

cal purposes a rather distinct separation may be drawn between press services on the one hand, and books, pamphlets, displays, exhibits and filmstrips on the other.

#### Press Services

Within this category a differentiation needs to be made between regular services provided by the Press Section, services demanded and inspired by situational factors, and responses to specific requests addressed to the Information Service.

The regular services. --These evolve around a semi-weekly News Bulletin which is mailed to about 650 correspondents, among whom one may find news agencies, national and provincial newspapers and periodicals, journalists, radio and television commentators, government agencies, educators, universities and libraries. This Dutch language publication is designed, not to provide undue competition to the commercial news services, but to supplement or explain the material found in the releases of these services. It contains news, background and feature articles on United States national policies, United States foreign policy, United Nations activities, social, economic, industrial and agricultural subjects of current interest, and special articles on bi-national events, such as the 1959 Henry Hudson Commemoration and Princess Beatrix's visit to the United States.

These articles on special bi-national events and some of the background material is written in The Hague by a Dutch national who came to USIS from the position of foreign news editor of a reputable provincial paper. His personal experience as a consumer of this sort of

material makes him a valuable asset to the staff of the Press Section.

These regular News Bulletins are based mainly upon the teletype material from Paris which in turn was taken from the USIA Wireless Bulletin from Washington. Such material is received daily. The Information Officer has the first choice as to which material will be released through the Dutch language bulletin and which shall be transmitted immediately -in English- to news agencies, newspapers and periodicals.

The latter direct releases are clearly justifiable since they give a complete transcript of major policy speeches and statements, or vital press conferences. Such material is seldom supplied as completely by the regular commercial news agencies. Dutch government officials also make frequent use of this material.

Figures 5 through 7 give a run-down of the content of three random-selected issues of the semi-weekly News Bulletin. It is apparent from these compilations that the subject matter of the stories varies considerably, and that in the same period considerable attention was given to scientific achievements in the United States. Of some significance are the feature stories written by by-line writers of the United States Information Agency - Washington.

A second regular publication of the Press section is the weekly Cultural Bulletin. Figures 8 through 10 outline the contents of three sample editions of this regular release.<sup>71</sup> The Cultural Section of USIS - The Hague also publishes a monthly list of coming events. The events

---

<sup>71</sup>The sample of the Cultural Bulletin was taken of dates falling somewhat parallel to those of the News Bulletin sample.

listed here include programs sponsored by the information service as well as appearances of American artists and groups arranged by impresarios for purely commercial purposes. The Cultural Bulletin and the sheet of coming events are mailed to approximately 1100 recipients among whom are press, educational and cultural organizations, lecturers, students, educators and cultural institutions.

A third element in the regular news services of the Press Section is the bi-weekly Labor News Bulletin. This bulletin is written by a Dutch national on the basis of labor news obtained from the teletype, the Air Bulletin and from American union papers and magazines. This news sheet is distributed to a mailing list of about 230 newspapers, labor unions and their publications, employer organizations and individuals active in the field of labor-management relations. Figure 10 shows the content of a sample issue of the Labor News Bulletin. The content of this issue clearly illustrates the economic nature of American trade unionism, something which is rather difficult to grasp by laboring people outside the United States.

The materials described above -the semi-weekly News Bulletin, the weekly Cultural Bulletin, the monthly listing of coming cultural events and the bi-weekly Labor News Bulletin- comprise the regular publications of the Press Section.

Action demanded by circumstances. --A certain amount of work is also done on the basis of situational factors, i.e., situations that call for communication action.

A good example of the latter category of activities took place in

Figure 4

REVIEW OF CONTENTS  
of  
News Bulletin  
of  
September 29, 1959

I. "President Eisenhower's support of the establishment of the International Development Association".

A digest of and quotations from the President's welcoming speech to the delegates of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund 1959 Conference.

The story includes Secretary of the Treasury's introduction of the plan and his pledge of United States support.

II. "Strengthened monetary position of the free world".

A review of the Fourteenth Annual Report of the International Monetary Fund.

This story mentions the Fund's observations on the significant improvement that took place during the past year in American industrial production. Due attention is also given to the benefits of the recovery of Japan and European industrial countries.

III. "Khrushchev's remarks regarding God are contradictory to Communist doctrine".

Remarks made by Mr. Khrushchev during his 1959 visit to the United States seemed to infer that there might be some recognition and appreciation for religion and God with Soviet leader. These remarks are contrasted with sentiments expressed by the Soviet premier on earlier occasions. The Story is concluded with a direct quote which clearly establishes the attitude that religious appeals might be useful for the persuasion of unsuspecting peoples.

Figure 5

REVIEW OF CONTENTS  
of  
News Bulletin  
of  
October 6, 1959

I. "Telephone office for communication via space is under construction".

Describes the construction of a telephone installation near Holmdel, New Jersey, from which messages can be sent and received by means of artificial satellites. By this procedure it is assumed that better telephonic communications may be possible between the West and East coast of the United States. In the far future this may lead to world-wide improvements in communication.

II. "International Office for Atomic Energy wants to speed up aid to underdeveloped areas".

A report based on the International Office's conference in Vienna. The story makes mention of the Swedish motion which called attention to this conference's lack of jurisdiction in the matter of the suspension of hydrogen bomb testings.

III. "National Aeronautics and Space Administration exists one year".

NASA is identified as the successor of the 43-year old National Aeronautic Advisory Committee. Mention is also made of the agency's achievements in the launchings of satellites and missiles.

IV. "Vegetation reveals presence of mineral treasures".

Written by USIA commentator Lynn Poole. This exploration method developed by American scientists is described in rather general terms.

## Figure 6

REVIEW OF CONTENTS  
of  
News Bulletin  
of  
October 29, 1959

I. "Governor of North Carolina visits Amsterdam".

Announcement of a two-day visit of the Governor and a team of business men to promote the state's port and industrial facilities.

II. "Carl Sandburg about his experiences in the Soviet Union"

These remarks evolve around a discussion of the Russian concept of freedom. There is also some reference to Russian indifference in regard to copyrights of American authors, and the relevant American practices of compensating Russian authors for publication of their work in the U.S.

III. "Text of the proposed Disarmament Resolution".

The official and complete text of the resolution introduced and simultaneously adopted by the Political Committee to the United Nations General Assembly. This is the resolution which brought about the calling of the ten-nation Geneva Disarmament Conference.

IV. "Communist China lacks labor"

Written by USIA commentator Benjamin E. West. A discussion of the labor shortage in Chinese agriculture because of the shift of laborers to industrial plants. The data are based on several articles by prominent Chinese officials in the journal "Red Flag"<sup>72</sup>

---

<sup>72</sup>Because of a typographical error this journal is referred to -- at one place in the story- as the "Red Fly". (Dutch for "flag" is "vlag", "fly" is "vlieg").

Figure 7

REVIEW OF CONTENTS  
of  
Cultural Bulletin  
of  
September 23, 1959

I. "America builds modern schools"

A feature article discussing functional school architecture in the United States. It is shown how the evolution of teaching techniques and health consciousness there has arisen a new style of school building design.

II. "Cultural announcements"

Novel about the life of El Greco.--Written by Elizabeth Borton de Trevino, this work is to be published in October by Crowell Publishing Company.

Atomic energy and humanity; a movie of the United Nations. --The first non-documentary movie produced under auspices of the United Nations to be shown in world premiere in Boston. This movie portrays the struggle between the forces of destruction and those of creativity in the era of atomic energy and reconstruction after World War II.

The place of music in world affairs.--The theme of the First International Music Conference held in the context of the People-to-People program. This story explains the work of the music committee of said programs.



## Figure 8

REVIEW OF CONTENTS  
of  
Cultural Bulletin  
of  
September 30, 1959

I. "Tents take the place of theaters in the summertime".

Feature written by Norman Smith. A most fascinating description of summerstock, its problems and its increasing popularity among performers and audiences.

II. "Cultural Announcements"

George Gershwin Week.--Announcement of one of New York's radio station's plans to broadcast a twelve-hour show of Gershwin music in the context of the Gershwin Week celebrations.

Opening of Philadelphia's opera season.--Description of the first opera program of the season and a survey of planned programs for the remainder of the season.

Behan's "The Hostage" to Broadway.--Brendan Behan has consented to attend the opening night performance of his play, "The Hostage" as it will be brought to Broadway by the group of actors who made it a success in London.

Music with a stage play by Brecht.--Discussion of Milhaud's scoring of ten songs and nine interludes for Berthold Brecht's "Mother Courage".

Figure 9

REVIEW OF CONTENTS  
of  
Cultural Bulletin  
of  
October 21, 1959

I. "John Dewey: Philosopher and 'Father of Modern Education'".

Centennial of Dewey's birthday creates opportunity for a discussion of Dewey's educational theories and his importance as an American philosopher.

II. "American plans for educational T.V. from a plane".

Description of a Ford Foundation sponsored program to use a DC-7 to extend educational television to large parts of several Midwestern states.

III. "The new Guggenheim Museum".

On the occasion of the official opening of the museum there is given some detail as to architectural design, Mr. Guggenheim's activities and intent.

the winter of 1958-1959. Several Dutch papers had carried a story of two Negro boys (eight and ten years old respectively) in Monroe, North Carolina, who had been put into a state correctional institution for kissing a little white girl. The story -as originally presented- made it appear as if the children were victims of distinct racial discrimination and thus aroused much public sentiment. A waiter in Amsterdam was quite successful in organizing a campaign for funds to afford the children legal aid in order that they might appeal the court's decision. This Operation Snowball acquired substantial support and publicity, which is quite understandable if it is kept in mind that the Dutch are highly sensitive to the racial problem.

The USIS was clearly obligated to explain the circumstances of the incident, that never even caught the attention of the American public. The Press Section thus released a story which showed that the boys in question were made wards of the court because of a chain of events which seemed to trace back to domestic circumstances in their backgrounds. Frequent truancy violations and minor delinquent actions made the court resort to this action when a rather confusing account was received of an incident which could have taken place within any group of children. The USIS -story concluded with the observation that this 'kissing-incident' hardly could be considered as a local racial incident, although the city officials were inclined to admit that the question of race might have contributed to the fashion in which and the hurry with which the case was completed.<sup>73</sup>

---

<sup>73</sup>It might be interesting to note that a subsequent inquiry by the leader of Operation Snowball to the local NAACP leadership brought the answer that this certainly was a racial question. This answer in turn received its publicity.

Figure 10

REVIEW OF CONTENTS  
of  
Labor News Bulletin  
of  
August 20, 1959

I. "More than 12 million shareholders in U.S.".

A short story describing the so-called 'silent economic revolution that is reshaping America'. From a New York stockmarket report it is shown that in the beginning months of 1959 there were 45% more persons holding stock and bonds than in 1956. It shows how union members make up a considerable share of the total.

II. "Beat off the attacks of the enemies of labor unions".

This phrase is extracted from the invitation extended by AFL-CIO officials to the delegates of its third constitutional convention. The language of this invitation is the subject matter of this short announcement.

III. "New contracts - new conditions".

A trio of bargaining results obtained respectively by the West Coast International Longshoremen, the Office Employees International Union with French Line, and the National Maritime Union of America. The nature of the benefits of the latter two new contracts are interesting evidences of economic bargaining, in contrast to the traditional European pattern of political union activities.<sup>74</sup>

---

<sup>74</sup>It is told how the Maritime Union obtained the employer's consent to install television receivers on coastal traders. The office employees extracted from French Line a free trip to Europe every three years for every employee and his family.

In the summer of 1959 there arose a double need for special publicity. In the first place, there was the visit by Princess Beatrix, the crown princess, to New York City and surrounding towns in connection with the Henry Hudson Commemoration. Secondly, there was the trip by two Dutch high school students to Waterford, New York. These young people were selected through the American embassy after requests were made for such visitors by the Waterford Youth Council. This "dream trip" was publicized rather widely as another evidence of the bigheartedness of the American people, especially with regard to the Dutch people.

The Press Section also undertakes to answer inquiries from various sources. Figures 11 and 12 give a breakdown of the nature of the parties requesting information or materials and the nature of the topics on which information or materials were desired. Some of these inquiries were in response to specific offers made. Major feature articles can frequently be well illustrated by means of gloss photographs or plastic plates. It is the policy of the Press Section to make these available upon request rather than engaging in a prohibitively expensive free mailing system with every feature story release. Other inquiries for materials may refer the Press Section to its sizable file of photographs and plastics, or to its background story and feature file.

The occasional written or oral requests vary tremendously in nature and significance. In the period surveyed for the purposes of this study a young Dutch soldier happened to walk into the Press Section office. Having been found guilty of a minor violation of the military code, he was prescribed a rather unusual form of punishment. Rather than having been

detained in jail, the recruit had been ordered to compile all the recent Eisenhower and Krushchev pronouncements on disarmament. The recruit was logically directing himself to the USIS for the documentary material required. There also was a cigar manufacturer who markets a cigar brand by the name "George Washington". The entrepreneur asked for a profile picture of Mr. Washington that would lend itself for reproduction on cigar bands.

Of more significance were the requests from columnists and science fiction writers in national dailies, and requests for illustrative materials from history and geography textbook publishers. It appears from Table I that in the period sampled most requests for information and materials came from periodicals and journals. A considerable amount of inquiry in this group came from house organs maintained by commercial and industrial establishments. Labor publications were also quite active by requesting illustrations for a rather successful story in the Labor News Bulletin of August 20, 1959. Local and regional newspapers, as a group, ranked second in regard to frequency of their requests. Textbook publishers made the third best showing.

Not only is it significant to look at the nature of the parties making the requests. The content of the request needs to be considered in relation to who asked for what. Interestingly enough, in spite of the missile lag and Soviet advantages in certain areas of space development, most interest was displayed in the field of space travel and missiles. It has to be pointed out that most of the requests on this topic were made by textbook publishers who wanted photographs of the Cape Canaveral launchings and related subjects to bring their new editions up to date. The Henry Hudson Commemoration was also a favorite and rather timely topic, since

Table I

NATURE OF PARTIES  
requesting information or material from Press Section  
(September 1 - November 15, 1959)

<u>Nature of Parties</u>		<u>No. of Requests</u>
Periodicals and journals		31
House organs	6	
Labor publications	5 <sup>75</sup>	
Architectural journals	3	
Religious magazines	3	
Military and veterans mag.	3	
Others	1	
Local and regional newspapers		18
Textbook publishers		10
Students (mostly high school)		7
Teachers (high school and college)		4
Publicists (regular columnists)		2
National dailies		2
National weeklies		2
Others (mostly individuals)		18

---

<sup>75</sup>The relatively high number of requests in this category occurred because of the recent completion of the new embassy building.

Table 2

## NATURE OF TOPICS

on which information or material was requested from  
Press Section  
(September 1 - November 15, 1959)

<u>Nature of Topic</u>	<u>No. of Requests</u>
Space travel and missiles	7
Henry Hudson Commemoration	4
New embassy building	4
Glass skyscraper	4
Automation in retailing*	3
Peaceful use in atomic energy	2
Guggenheim Museum*	2
Lincoln	2
Lincoln Memorial	2
Oakland Bay Bridge	2
Labor Day	2
Summer Stock Theatre*	2
Others (receiving single mention)	46

---

\* Materials on these topics were offered in connection with stories released in regular publications. These requests may thus be seen as reactions to offers, in contrast to spontaneous, undirected requests.



the celebrations took place in the summer months. (Most of the requests of this topic concerned pictures of Mr. Hudson). Great interest was shown -particularly by architectural publications- in illustrations and descriptions of the new American embassy building, the Guggenheim Museum and a recently completed virtually all-glass skyscraper in New York City. Retail automation and summer stock theater inquiries were mainly follow-ups on material offered with featured articles in the regular releases. Labor Day was also a rather timely topic.

The Press Section maintains a photo library with approximately 25,000 photographs from which these requests may be filled. Regular additions to these files are supplied from Washington and from local sources.

#### Books and Pamphlets

Publications in the form of books and pamphlets have been a part of the United States information program in The Netherlands for years. One of the most outstanding publications of recent years is a geography text of modest size, titled USA-Geography and Growth. This standard work as supplied by the Washington headquarters has been translated in many languages and distributed in many countries. The Dutch version was not only translated but also re-written and based upon an improved pictorial lay-out in order that the visual appeal as well as the meaning of the text might be improved. This hard-cover book was distributed to all geography teachers in secondary schools (9,000 of them) and the remaining 2,000 copies were distributed through the USIS on the basis of individuals or groups requesting substantial information of this nature.

In sharp contrast to this very outstanding publication that undoubtedly has contributed greatly to the high school student's awareness of the United States, could be placed a 98-page pamphlet titled The United States in Facts and Figures. This pamphlet is meant as a basic introduction to the United States, covering in general terms topics such as Country and People, System of Government, Organization of the Federal Government, Foreign Policy, Atomic Energy, Level of Wealth<sup>76</sup>, etc.

The quality of this pamphlet is highly questionable. Its physical make-up is deplorable. A poor grade paper and outdated pictures do not provide a very attractive first introduction to a country which boasts of its wealth. The pamphlet compares very badly with similar factual compilations distributed by the British Information Service and the German Information Office in the United States and elsewhere. The description of the American governmental system distinctly lacks imagination. The dry, lengthy and overly factual description certainly does not clarify a system which already is badly misunderstood. For instance, the pamphlet carries a rather detailed description of the functions of the various executive departments, functions which could easily be deduced from the name of the establishment. It makes one wonder if it were written to place the United States Information Agency in its proper administrative position. Attention might have been given much more beneficially to a more adequate discussion of the role of Congress or the intricacies of the **federal** system. The pamphlet is just too factual, even for fact-and-figure introduction.

---

76

This is a literal translation of a chapter title. Note: it does not say "standard of living" or "level of living"

It merely tends to augment the tendency of observers to rate Americans as judges of value or importance through the size of dollar value of the object measured.

A third pamphlet, America at First Glance, is a well written collection of illustrated newspaper articles by a journalist from The Hague (not affiliated with USIS). The author of these articles gathered his impressions during an exchange assignment of several months with a Quincy, Massachusetts, newspaper and a subsequent trip through the United States. This particular pamphlet received a distribution of about 3,800 copies.

This is America is a compilation of short statements by well-known literary personalities about their home state or home town. This material had been used before in the Voice of America broadcasts. Although some of the authors (Soroyan, Buck, Caldwell, Steinbeck, Lowell and Sinclair in particular) have had rather large publics in The Netherlands, these statements do not seem to be of the kind that will reach those who belong to the mature element of these publics. The literary elite is also the more tolerant and understanding element of the society; they do not have much need for this sort of short, tender statements. What might have been much more useful is some sort of discussion of American literature that would be distinctly designed to place these frequently misunderstood authors in their proper perspective. So many middle class pseudo intellectuals in Europe learn their descriptive understanding of American society from the pages of such works as The Grapes of Wrath, without having due appreciation for the intent of the author in providing a social critique. It seems that explanations of these intents may be of great service to those who came to

know the United States through the authors in this pamphlet.

The USIS in The Hague made up an illustrated pamphlet laid out in the format and style of Look magazine. The Living America single edition magazine is mainly composed of articles taken from American periodicals such as Life, Friends and the New York Times Magazine. This issue contains features on ballet and the Philadelphia Orchestra as well as more homy subjects. Although the quality of its color lithography is disturbingly poor, the content of the publication is, generally speaking, rather good.

More specific interests and subjects are treated in some of the following pamphlets. Leon T. Dickinson, a former Fulbright guest at the University of Groningen, selected and composed a bibliography, Selected Readings in American Culture. Although this compilation puts major emphasis on fiction, it contains some rather good references on fine arts, political, social and intellectual history, economics, sociology and philosophy in America. The bibliography, quite understandingly, is written in English.

America and Its Labor Unions is a reworked and augmented version of Bulletin No. 1000 of the Bureau of Labor Statistics (Department of Labor). This pamphlet amounts to a very well written and illustrated historical review of the union movement in the United States.

Most Dutchmen are quite proud of their social welfare legislation and live under the impression that the capitalist economy is rather devouring and ruthless on the laboring man. To offset this stereotyped thinking a pamphlet was composed under the title, Social Legislation in

the United States. Simply written and illustrated thoroughly with comic strip illustrations, this pamphlet tells of the various ways in which social legislation affects an American union member. The description given in the pamphlet does not apply to the average non-union member and might, therefore, tend to distort the truth; as such it is rather risky and questionable. The pamphlet also suffers from unwarranted assumptions about the reader's knowledge and understanding of American institutions. The distinct tie-in with the common experience of the Dutch laborer, which would have made this sort of a pamphlet highly effective, seems to be lacking.

The Negro in America is a 32-page pamphlet which was translated from an Agency standard publication which has been translated into many languages. Although the content is quite good, the publication suffers from dull appearance and insufficient clarity of organization of the material. As such it is only able to retain the interest of the 'reader' and not that of the 'visual thinker', who is most apt to be the prejudiced individual.

Another standard publication of the mother agency covers the subject Education in the United States. The text and illustrations of the 23-page translation are not too effective. For example on Page 3 it states that "in practically all of the United States there exists a state university at which the residents of that state can study free of charge." The next page insinuates that even though acquiring a higher education is not always easy there exists a possibility for everyone. Both these remarks are not exactly untrue, neither are they perfectly true. They might sound

propagandistic to the outsider. In the same pamphlet there is continuous shallow discussion of higher education in the United States. This is rather deplorable when we consider the fact that the average European educator and scholar (and even the exchange student who has attended the American college and university) is prone to brush off American higher education as a glorified high school farce.

A most effective and impressive explanation of the 1955 aerial inspection plan presented by President Eisenhower at the Geneva summit conference, is given in the pamphlet Aerial Inspection in the Service of Peace. The color and black-and-white illustrations are quite impressive and rather effective in convincing the reader of the possibilities presented by the latest developments in aerial photography and methods of interpreting its findings.

President Eisenhower in 1958 ordered his Advisory Committee for Science to make a report for the lay reader on the elementary principles of space travel. The group headed by Dr. James Killian provided the original for the Dutch language translation published and distributed by the information program under the title Introduction to Space Travel.

It is customary that every new pamphlet is first given "directed distribution", i.e., distribution to persons, organizations and institutions which by their nature and the nature of the subject matter treated seem to be logical targets. After this original distribution which usually amounts to about 65% of the total printing, the remainder is kept on hand for distribution at exhibits and on request.

The 1956 budget cut caused a severe drop in the production and

distribution of pamphlets and brochures in The Netherlands. In 1956, before the cut, there were distributed 149,276 copies, at a monthly average of 12,440. In 1958 the total amounted to 27,704, for a monthly average of 2,309.<sup>77</sup>

### Displays and Exhibits

Photographic display sets showing various aspects of life in America, suitable for use in schools, public libraries, institutions, theaters and community centers are regularly available from USIS-The Hague. These displays cover a great variety of subjects and are of various sizes and compositions.

The clients for these displays are mostly schools, Parent Teacher Associations, and shopkeepers. The bigger department stores in the cities make rather regular use of these displays. Subjects on which displays are requested and used most frequently are: Daily Life in America, Recreation in America and Architecture in America. In the winter of 1959-1960, for example, a display of photographs of the Best Architecture for 1959 (in the United States) was shown at the Bouw-centrum (Building Center) in Rotterdam. This sort of public display is only one single example of this rather active part of the operation. The National Science Foundation in co-operation with other foundations and business enterprises composed a poster set on the role of the exact sciences in the space age. This set was distributed quite successfully in high schools in The

---

<sup>77</sup>These figures were obtained from the official reports of the Dutch USIS employee who has the specific responsibility of managing the publication program.

Netherlands. There is also a set of black and white lithographed photos of famous and characteristic items of American scenery, which has been placed rather successfully.

In the category 'displays' are included collections which allow easy installation and removal. In the area of more bulky exhibits there obviously is less activity. Well-rounded, significant exhibits are expensive. Their transportation, erection and maintenance costs limit this activity to those times and opportunities that arise when such an exhibit is available in that part of the world.

The most successful exhibits used by the Information Service in The Netherlands have been the Family of Man exhibit of Steichen photographs and a display on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. The Family of Man exhibit was used a second time in the summer of 1960 in the context of a world flower and landscaping show, Floriade, held in Rotterdam.

At the 1960 Floriade exhibition the United States Departments of Agriculture and Commerce provided for the horticultural exhibits, while the USIS placed three large exhibits. Next to the Family of Man exhibit, there was one of American national parks (with the accent on recreation in America) and one on Space Unlimited (with a contemplated display of an actual Atlas missile). The American exhibits obtained choice positions in the exhibit halls as well as in the open air areas. Sharing of the expenses for the transportation, erection and maintenance of the exhibits was arranged with the exposition management.

In this area of activities (exhibits) the same rules apply that became so drastically clear in the publications work: since the latest



budget cuts exhibit activities are virtually suspended. This special exposition (Floriade) was the first occasion in years that such activities had taken place.

#### Filmstrips

Interesting work was done, before the latest budget cut, in the field of filmstrip manufacture and distribution. The filmstrip program was run in co-operation with a Dutch educational filmstrip producer. General agreement was reached first on the subject matter of a strip of strip series. The producing firm would then collect its own pictures and write its own script. The lay-out and script would then be submitted to the USIS-The Hague for approval or suggestions. When final okay was acquired and the strip was produced, the manufacturer would distribute some 3,000 copies of the new strip to its regular educational visual aid customers. This program was run as a sequence on the information program of the Economic Cooperation Administration, which program was earmarked for large appropriations and imaginative policies.

The subjects of these filmstrips were many and varied. Some titles were Atoms for Peace, High Schools in the United States, Community Art Centers, Small Town Life, Mutual Inspection for Peace, Space Travel and Automation. The titles suggest that these strips would be usable for adult groups also. The average distribution these filmstrips received was made more meaningful by the fact that on the average 161 strips were viewed. USIS estimated that in the ten years of its active operations some thirteen million persons saw one or more of these strips.

A most fascinating filmstrip program was carried out by the USIA

and KRO (Catholic Radio Organization - one of the three largest radio broadcasting organizations). The Educational Section of this broadcasting organization and the USIS prepared a filmstrip program to be shown in classes of some 975 schools participating in the educational radio program. While the radio station would broadcast the commentary the teacher in the classroom would co-ordinate the showing of the strip. The text of the radio talks were published so that strips and commentary might be used again at a later time.

The name of the series worked under this arrangement was The Land of Uncle Sam. Subjects covered were: New York (in two programs), Thus Lives the American, Indians (in two programs, one of which was authorized by USIS, the other financed by the broadcasting organization), From Columbus to Eisenhower (a survey of history), From Atlantic to Mississippi, From Mississippi to Rocky Mountains, From Rocky Mountains to Pacific (a series of three on geography) and Traveling in the United States. It might be observed that the text is clearly written for the predominant Catholic audience. The quality of the material is quite good and very interesting.

Filmstrips are also available for loan. A library of more than 200 strips is available on many other topics. Loan of these filmstrips is, of course, free of charge.

#### Motion Pictures

The motion pictures program of USIS-The Hague is a good illustration as to how the program adjusts itself to the needs of its public and the consequent physical circumstances. Immediately after the war the film section was the most active part of the operation. The Dutch

public was highly curious about America and the Americans. The wartime achievements of the United States and nonchalance of its soldiers made almost everybody ready audience for any motion picture that could give some glimpse of country and people. Movies and projectors were scarce. The United States Information Service had both. The audience and the USIS got readily together. The staff of the film section ran as high as seven or eight in the headquarters and five men on the mobile projection teams. Thus, USIS was not only the place where you could get to see movies, but you could also get to see them free of charge.<sup>78</sup>

On the basis of this great activity and with the knowledge that motion pictures are potentially great media, the film library was continuously enlarged. More and more pictures with Dutch language narration arrived and were provided on loan to secondary schools, women's organizations, labor unions, personnel organizations, etc. When there were groups of at least 100 persons the mobile unit might be engaged to present the motion picture program to those requesting the showing. The total motion picture operation was free, easy and well-endowed. In that period most of the contacts were laid that are still important today.

With the successive cuts in the operative budget of USIS-The Hague the motion picture section was cut drastically in its activities. Today the section operates with five men and restricts the activities -by necessity- as much as possible to showings in The Hague. Mobile

---

<sup>78</sup>As a teenager I was in attendance during one of those showings immediately after the war. Undeniably, I was ready for 'indoctrination', but it is amazing how frequently I think back to the scenes seen in those movies.

showings out of the city are to be discouraged. Preference is given to bringing groups of 50-125 to the auditorium in the new embassy building. It is also established policy that movies will not be loaned to or shown before audiences of elementary schools and/or persons of fourteen years and below.

The film section just issued a new edition of its film catalogue listing motion pictures of the following subject categories: American Society; Care of the Blind; Health and Hygiene; History; Industry; Science and Technology; Atomic Energy; Child Care and Training; Art; Agriculture; Air- and Space Travel; Music and Dance; Nature and Tourism; Education; Government and Politics; Newsreels; and International Affairs and European Reconstruction.

For each title in the catalogue there are normally several copies so that conflicts in booking may be prevented as much as possible.

Some interesting arrangements may be given as illustrations of some of the current operations of the motion picture section. In the summer of 1960, an International Criminological Congress was held in The Netherlands. A special program was prepared, and partially acquired from Washington, upon request of the learned societies sponsoring the meeting.

In the winter of 1959-1960 a special movie program was arranged to show a new ballet movie with Jerome Robbins. This brand new arrival and a feature of Martha Graham and Company were coupled with a demonstration of modern dance techniques through the co-operation of a young American ballet director who was working with the Netherlands Ballet Theater. Several repeats had to be given of the program, which later

became quite popular with several personnel organizations (without the demonstrations by the Dutch ballet group).

During the fall of 1959 a new program arrangement was inaugurated. Every Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday noon a free showing was given for those government and other office employees who desired to come. In The Netherlands, offices normally give their employees from one hour and a half to two hours lunch period. This luncheon time program ran the same program (40-minute) for two consecutive days of showing. In this fashion more than 125 persons could see the same program, and at the same time it discouraged loitering in the theater. The program for December, 1959, as shown on Figure 11, indicates a rather wide variety of subjects and titles, which in turn are fitted somewhat to the season and the assumed heterogeneity of the audience.

Education institutions are normally listed as the most frequent customers of the film section. These secondary schools normally are more interested in movies on geography, history, biographies of great American statesmen, and music. Universities are usually more geared toward specialized topics. They make only very rare use of the materials. Labor Unions should be mentioned as second ranking in frequency of requests. Government employees and military personnel associations are third.

The content of the films is hardly to be evaluated in detail. It might be said, however, that most of these titles were produced for worldwide use with very little consideration for the peculiarities of each national audience. It appears as if language narrations are supposed to solve this problem. When looking at the catalogue there are several titles

Figure 11

LUNCHEON PERIOD MOVIE PROGRAMS  
for  
December 1959

<u>Subject &amp; Dates</u>	<u>Titles</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Lan- guage</u>
<u>Nature &amp; Tourism</u> <u>December 1 &amp; 2</u>	APPALACHIAN TRAIL	Scenic hike	D
	BEAVER ALLEY	Disney nature	E
<u>History</u> <u>December 3 &amp; 8</u>	TRANSATLANTIC	Discovery of	
	TO FREEDOM	America Revolutionary War	D D
<u>American Society</u> <u>December 9 &amp; 10</u>	INDIAN LIFE IN NEW MEXICO		D
	TOWARD TOMORROW	Dr. Ralph Bunche Biography	D
<u>Fishery and Cattle</u> <u>December 15 &amp; 16</u>	LOBSTERTOWN		D
	WESTERN STOCKBUYER		D
<u>Christmas Program</u> <u>December 17 &amp; 22</u>	Our Times 16	Newsreel with Christmas ob- servations	D
	MARIAN ANDERSON	Voice Recital	D
	THE NATIVITY	Puppet	D

that can hardly be seen as having any vital significance to either a lay or specialized audience.

It is plain that money is needed to manufacture movies which will clearly establish the identification between the foreign country's and the American ways of life, an identification which is essential if the United States wants to bring their national interest within the range of appreciation of the foreign audience. Since money for such purposes is not available, we maintain a sort of travel bureau of movies that make their attractive showing but which are questionable as to their achievement since they do not fit the symbolism and framework of thought of the viewing public.

#### Radio and Television

The chronological development of these two media services would suggest that USIS radio activities would be the more extensive of the two. This is not necessarily the case today, even though total air time comparisons for the total postwar period may show an advantage to the radio programs.

The radio section of USIS-The Hague enjoyed almost the same advantages as the film section in the sense that immediately after the war free radio material could well be and was readily used. Here also did the fascination felt for America and the American people play an important part. In the field of popular music there was virtual starvation for American swing and jazz records. The radio services as such did not have much difficulty placing their materials.

It must be made clear that the radio work done in regard to the

Dutch people is not done through the Voice of America. It is hoped that the Dutch public will listen to the English language broadcasts designed by the Voice of America for all-European consumption. The USIS-The Hague primarily places materials through the existing radio networks. By this method a more extensive and sometimes even unsuspecting audience may be reached, in comparison to the audience of the Voice of America which needs to tune in consciously and as such may be assumed to be friendly or curious, and thus not necessarily in need of persuasive information.

Before the latest budget cuts there was a radio program which was heard once a week in the late afternoon over one of the larger broadcasting networks. Although the program was known by various names during its eight-year run, it could be identified by one of its names, "Your American Neighbors". Geared to the late afternoon young people and housewives audience it considered questions sent in by members of the audience on the multiple facets of life in these United States. The series was suspended because of personnel shortage, as well as because of the difficulty of finding fresh material after so long a series.<sup>79</sup>

Occasionally there is heard on Dutch radio a series of travel experiences in the United States. From time to time the American Embassy and the Information Service promote these trips by famous radio personalities, because the publicity acquired through this procedure is normally quite excellent. During the winter and early spring of 1959-1960 such a

---

<sup>79</sup>There used to be an Information Assistant specifically charged with the administration of this program. The budget cut of 1956 eliminated this position.



series of travel talks was presented on Dutch radio by a lady whose name has become a byword in many Dutch homes. Her trip, which had been partially arranged through the Embassy, made for an interesting story. Her objectivity coupled with her personal reputation made a most worthwhile promotion of America and American officialdom.

One of the Dutch broadcasting organizations programed a series of broadcasts on classical music by American composers and/or classical music performed by prominent American artists. Many of the recordings for these broadcasts were supplied by USIS. These recordings in turn were taken from earlier Voice of America broadcasts, and as such did not present undue competition with the commercial recording companies.

For sometime now a program has been running once a week from 10:30 to 11:00 p.m. with the latest in American popular music. This show has been moved to the late afternoon where it will attract the women and young people audiences.

These radio activities are rather skimpy when compared with the days of the Marshall Plan information program. In those days many spots per day were given to USIS. With the complete absence of commercial radio and its perennial program breaks and commercials, spot announcements are very difficult to place, since they cannot be bought for a certain rate per ten, twenty or thirty second spot. Placement of any spots must then be a matter of voluntary acceptance by radio management that is willing to take a chance with the audience's wrath or pleasure. These chances are not as readily taken now as they were in the rather precarious days of European recovery in the first five years after the war.

Even though the radio activities of USIS seem rather sketchy and purposeless it is rather difficult to imagine how this situation could be remedied when so few funds are available and when Dutch radio can avail itself of so much domestic talent capable of performing professionally on the air.

Since television is still rather undeveloped in The Netherlands, offers of free film material made by the USIS have always been readily accepted. All films in the motion picture library that were of a quality and content which would make them good material for public television showing have been used. In spite of the fact that the supply of movies is dwindling a good percentage (an estimated 70%) of the material offered is used.

The most recent successful placings have been the Jerome Robbins' movie "Ballet USA", the Marian Anderson Biography "The Lady from Philadelphia" and a series on space travel. Each of these was quite well received.

It is interesting to note that -as will be seen in Chapter IV- the program of Dutch television which draws the most numerous and most consistent audience is the news program. This news program is something quite different from the program format of American national network newscasts. In The Netherlands the lack of funds, again due to the non-commercial nature of television, forces the format of the newscast into the caliber of a movie theater newsreel. The basic difference between the television newsreel and the movie theater newsreel is that the daily freshness of the news must be distinctly present on television. However, there is not the staff nor the facilities to have last-minute or

simultaneous coverage of even national news as is found in state-side network news programs. In the field of international news there obviously is even greater delay in coverage.

Due to the nature of the program, and the relative slack in the immediacy requirement of coverage, the USIS has an excellent opportunity to place material that might be flown straight from Washington or New York. Most of the stories on American news come from American commercial suppliers, such as the Columbia Broadcasting System. Much, however, also comes from USIS, especially reports on visits by Dutch dignitaries to the United States and any story that needs particular one-audience direction. For instance, the visit of the Crown Princess received very adequate coverage, with much footage being supplied through USIS. At other times, important presidential news conferences which are not covered at all or not covered extensively by the commercial supplier is distinctly fused into the Dutch television news program.

Considerable attention is also afforded to broadcasting organizations that plan high caliber informational or documentary programs. One of the larger broadcasting organizations initiated a series of biographical sketches on leading statesmen of the twentieth century. Programs were planned on John Foster Dulles and on President Eisenhower. On both of these considerable co-operation was given by USIS.

In the summer of 1960 a series of two programs was contemplated on elections in the United States. The co-operation of USIS had been requested, and, of course, was gladly extended.

Once a week there is also an agricultural newsreel on the one channel. Occasionally material, which again does not have to be too

immediate in time, is placed here.

Some mention may also be made here of the placing of stories or material for movie theater newsreels. There does exist much opportunity here since the world news reels are composed exclusively by the commercial reel producers. The best possible coverage to be obtained in movie theater newsreels in The Netherlands was given to USIS just recently. One of the younger producers of domestic (Holland-wide) news has brought on the market a newsreel of new format. Rather than covering a multitude of subjects in shallow dimensions, this relatively 'young' newsreel takes only four subjects and treats them rather deeply. In such an issue four and a half minutes coverage was given to the new embassy building, the USIS and its functions, and the Jerome Robbins ballet program referred to above.

#### Information Center Service

The Cultural Affairs Officer -who is also responsible to the State Department for his work with exchange of persons programs- supervises a category of functions that have the common characteristic of being provided primarily within the physical bounds of the USIS-building. In this section are grouped the library, the speaker's bureau and the cultural programs arranged by USIS.

#### Library

In the new embassy building the ground floor of the wing devoted to the information establishment is laid out and used as a public library of modest size. In this library are some 9,000 volumes covering a wide range of subjects, and a sizable collection of children's books. These volumes may be borrowed for three weeks free of charge. Borrowing by

mail is possible also. Copies of some 150 American periodicals are available for consultation in the reference section of the room. Among these one may find popular magazines as well as journals of learned societies. Several American newspapers are on file and kept quite up to date. For instance, there are the daily deliveries of the European edition of the New York Times, printed in Amsterdam. These deliveries of the New York Times carry the gist of the world news of the home edition of the preceding day.

A sizable file is maintained for some 5,000 government publications. This file as well as the other reference works in the library are the backbone for a running reference service maintained by the library. Mailed-in or called-in questions are answered through this service free of charge.

Virtually all the volumes of the library are in the English language. This does not necessarily pose a problem to a part of the Dutch public. The likely library public is mostly made up of people who have a working knowledge of the English language.

Within the context of the library there is maintained a Music Library for use by musicians, music teachers, music students, and groups; schools may make arrangements to borrow sheet music as well as long-play records. The approximately 1500 pieces of sheet music cover the classical as well as the popular field, and also cover instrumental as well as vocal works and arrangements. Some 1150 records offer symphonic as well as religious music, folk music as well as light opera, all of them by American composers and/or performers.

The library is open to the public from noon to six at night. These limited hours are necessary because of a shortage of manpower. Before the latest budget cuts there was an American librarian who had the aid of several assistants. Currently the library is run by a Dutch national, who is almost singlehandedly responsible for cataloguing, reference service, and hostessing library visitors in the afternoon.

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1959 it was reported that 6,182 persons used the library.<sup>80</sup> Of these, it was reported, educators and students accounted for 35% of the users; business and professional men; 30%; civil servants, 20%; and housewives and children, 15%. Interestingly enough, no mention is made of retired persons (former civil servants or others). From personal observation, it was my impression that a considerable percentage of the library users must fit in this category. The category distribution might well be one reflecting the number of people who borrowed material and as such became known. The casual reader who walks in without speaking to anyone could obviously not be identified just solely by his or her appearance.

Subjects of inquiry (for the reference service) respectively ranked as to their frequency: economic subjects (including business and labor); history and geography; literature and fine arts; science and technology; social sciences; agriculture.

#### Speaker's Bureau

Talks are arranged for interested groups and organizations on

---

<sup>80</sup>These figures were provided in a personal letter from the Cultural Affairs Officer, Earle H. Balch, dated October 2, 1959.

many aspects of life and policies of the United States. These talks are given either by Netherlanders who have spent considerable time in the United States under one of the various exchange programs, or by Americans who are in The Netherlands under a Fullbright or similar arrangement, or by visiting American specialists. It was estimated that an average of 80 such talks are arranged each year. These speakers and others may avail themselves of a selection of the more than 2,000 color slides on file at USIS.

#### Cultural Programs

The Cultural Affairs Section arranges small recitals or exhibits of the works of young American artists who have not yet made a name for themselves in their particular artistic endeavors. These young artists are presented especially in the provincial cities to avoid undue competition with the first class attractions of the more cosmopolitan centers. Examples of these artists visiting in the fall of 1959 are Miss Kalie-o-kuaihelani with a program of music and dance from Hawaii, the harpist Mildred Dilling, and the violin-piano duo Alan Grishman and Joel Ryce.

In September, 1959, the New York Philharmonic with Leonard Bernstein presented a concert in The Hague under the auspices of the State Department and the Information Service.

#### Special Events

Some mention should also be made of projects that are not necessarily under the initiative or jurisdiction of the Information Service only.

In this category fits an annual study conference for high school instructors from The Netherlands and Belgium on Twentieth Century America. During five days some 35 instructors, some of whom are lined up for educational exchange in the near future, hear lectures and participate in discussions led by American and Dutch university professors. In 1960 the conference received co-operation by staff members from Bryn Mawr, University of London, Ohio State University, Hunter College, Simmons College, Columbia University, The College of Economics of Rotterdam, University of Redlands, Harvard University, University of California, and the Municipal University of Amsterdam. Topics studied included American History in the Twentieth Century, American and European Attitudes in Economic Life, American Literature in the Fifties, Education in the United States, The American Theater, Social Work in the United States Today, Measurement and Evaluation in American Education, American Music Today, The Current American Political Scene, Contemporary Art in America, The History of American Thought, and European Attitudes toward the United States.

Mention should also be made of seminars organized on various vital problems facing the United States. These seminars were originally organized for journalists in order that they may obtain a better perspective for their commentary of daily news contents. For later seminars others were invited also (non-journalists) in accordance with the nature of the topic discussed. For example, in the fall of 1957 a seminar was held on Labor in the United States. For this meeting the obvious accent was on labor union people, employer organization officials and others interested in that particular problem. A seminar on election procedures in 1956 and a



program on minority problems two years later were attended primarily by journalists.

These seminars are held in a relaxed atmosphere in a beach resort where the guests are received in the afternoon on Saturday and where they stay until Sunday afternoon. At these seminars extensive use is made also of American Fulbright professors and Dutch experts on the subjects discussed. The standard procedure is that organizations and institutions are invited to send representatives. In this manner any criticism was prevented that only known pro-American officials were asked.

Mention should also be made of the Salzburg Seminars in American Studies. Four weeks of intensive post-graduate study under the leadership of leading American scholars were conducted in 1960 on the subjects: American Foreign Policy; Literature and Mass Media in America; and Art, Architecture and Music in America. Each year nine sizable scholarships are awarded to Netherlands, between 25 and 35 years of age, who are university graduates and are employed by academic, cultural and industrial organizations, or by the government. Consideration may also be given to others who do not meet these qualifications but who by the nature of their employment or profession have special interest in these courses. The screening of Dutch applicants takes place at the Netherlands-America Institute in Amsterdam. This private, non-profit organization mainly endowed by Dutch and American businessmen is the same that is now operating the former USIS facilities in Amsterdam.

These are only some examples of special activities through USIS or affiliated or befriended organizations. They tend to emphasize rather clearly the complex patterns of the communication behavior and content of

USIS-The Hague. It should be kept in mind that these activities have to be seen in the environment of impressions acquired about the United States from private sources, such as the commercial motion pictures, the Elvis Presley records and the Tobacco Road-type novels.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE COMMUNICATION AUDIENCE

In the preceding chapters a determination was made of the objectives, the machinery and the methods of United States communication in The Netherlands. Davison and George quite logically suggest as the next step of evaluation the study of audience characteristics and the conditions of communication.<sup>81</sup> Not only, then, does communication necessitate a 'receiving station', but ideally -as suggested before- the communication should be adjusted to the expected reactions of the audience. In the same vein, acceptable evaluation can only take place when this same audience is observed for its response in relation to the expectations of reaction. Proper attention needs to be given here to the socio-economic, cultural and political characteristics of the people and the society of The Netherlands. We must also look at their traditional patterns of action in international politics, and at the local channels of communication that may be employed for the spreading of the communication from the United States Information Service.

The placing of this material after a description of the communication behavior and content is not accidental. This order seeks to suggest that more attention is paid to the suggestions and/or materials supplied by the mother agency (United States Information Agency - Washington) than

---

<sup>81</sup>Davison and George, pp. 506, 510.

to the expected reactions of the target public(s) in The Netherlands. This does not purport to be an accusation of oversight or neglect; but merely a statement of fact inferring one of the basic tendencies of a large administrative establishment. The Agency seems to put more faith in statistical reports and quantitative expressions than in somewhat abstract qualitative observations. It is almost natural therefore that the USIS personnel in The Hague is disproportionally concerned about pleasing the Agency in Washington so that the Agency in turn may give satisfaction to the result-hungry Appropriations committees in Congress.

The description of the target audience may also aid in the determination of the specific target public(s). So far it has been assumed that the basic target in the democratic countries is the people who have or exercise their political rights. Who make up this group needs to be ascertained in each particular country on the basis of its circumstances and characteristics, and needs to be re-examined continuously or at least at the appropriate time of planned exposure. Dyer suggests rather aptly that target determination is a distinct necessity in political communication, even though he readily admits it to be not very easy.<sup>82</sup> The difficulties stem, to a very great degree, from the confusion which exists about communication objectives. It should be obvious that conversion as an objective may condition a different choice of target than the objective of 'relevant political action'. In preceding pages it has been accepted that the United States does not seek to impose its value system upon the peoples of the world. Establishment of common identity in

---

<sup>82</sup>Dyer, pp. 41-44.

aspirations between the communicating and receiving societies was judged to be the basic objective of the work of the United States Information Agency.

It is distinctly true that variation may exist in the relative importance of this objective from one area to another. At the same time, it is also imperative to be aware that in most audiences there resides a certain degree of pride in one's own culture that will virtually prohibit immediate or short range conversion. In fact, with the industrialization and commercialization of societies, and with the re-appearance of prosperity in pre-war industrial societies, like The Netherlands, a certain degree of common identity will come about regardless of any official government action or activation.

The suggestion was also made earlier that for one and the same audience there are recognizable long range as well as short range communication policy objectives. Within that one audience there might well be several and varying targets which are expected to be instrumental in the achievement of the relevant objectives. Thus an audience analysis may well bring one to the conviction that the over-all audience may be approached more effectively through certain micro-audiences.

Such an idea was broached to the author by James M. McDonald, Jr. from the Office of the Assistant Director for Europe. It was suggested that the materials prepared and distributed by USIS should be divided in even more specific areas of interest and that these categories of materials should more specifically be tailored to the various micro-audiences in the over-all receiving audience. For instance, the number of general materials

should be sharply reduced or otherwise a pamphlet on fair employment practices should be written for and distributed only to those who would be most specifically interested in it (e.g., labor groups, management, civil rights groups) and not to the general public. In this fashion there would not only result a long range saving in expenditures but above all a saving in embarrassment and impediment of effectiveness because of differing symbolism and attitudes of the several micro-audiences. This sort of categorizing of materials is only carried out to a limited extent today.

Description of the audience in all its aspects and peculiarities might also give assistance in the determination of what communication objectives are feasible with particular audiences and which are not. Relevant political action may only be expected when there is no chance of conflicting with the most basic elements of the national interest of The Netherlands. Thus, it would be unrealistic to hope to persuade the Dutch through political communication to leave the Common Market arrangement with enthusiasm. The survival of The Netherlands depends to a very great extent upon its ability to trade with its neighbors. This dependence is even greater since the Dutch have surrendered part of their national sovereignty to other arrangements such as the European Coal and Steel Community and the Common Market.

In order that the whole audience may be understood through its particular characteristics the following subjects will be considered in this order: socio-economic patterns, cultural patterns, political structure and patterns, and mass communications in The Netherlands.

### Socio-economic Patterns

The Netherlands is most commonly characterized as a country which is involved in an eternal struggle with the seas. Geographically speaking the country is favored substantially by its favorable traffic location, one of the most travelled seas of the world and at the mouth of several great European rivers giving access to the heart of the European continent.

### Population

It is rather paradoxical that this small country (18,250 square miles), which is so sparingly endowed with mineral resources (mainly coal, some salt and petroleum) also happens to be one of the most thickly populated areas of the world (843 persons per square mile). With the population having doubled in the first half of the twentieth century the density of population is increasing drastically. Certain problems with respect to employment opportunities and the possibility of maintaining the relatively high level of living call for a quick solution.

Table 3 portrays the course of population growth correlated with two basic causes underlying the increase. It shows the basic causation to lie in the realm of birth surplus rather than in excessive immigration. The infant is among the very lowest in the world. The repatriation of Dutch citizens and subjects from Indonesia distorts the figures on migration from Holland to such places as Canada, Australia, South Africa, United States and South America. As this repatriation is coming to a slow halt emigration may become even more effective as a safety valve device, although it will never be the single answer to the problem of overpopulation. The only politically and morally feasible answer may lie to a great extent in

Table 3

VITAL POPULATION STATISTICS<sup>83</sup>  
For The Netherlands

Year	Number of Inhabitants	Birth Surplus	Migration Surplus
1900	5,104,137	70,644	3,312
1910	5,858,175	90,483	-16,838
1920	6,831,239	111,462	-21,426
1930	7,832,175	110,628	10,036
1947	9,542,659	189,702	-11,471
1956	10,821,661	146,683	-10,981

progressive industrialization.

It is interesting to note that a considerable number of those who have left the country since the war (about 5 per cent of the population between 1945 and 1953<sup>84</sup>) have migrated to the United States. Thus a reservoir of goodwill and understanding is readily available among the parents and relatives who receive letters and pay occasional visits to their American relatives.

The population pyramid of The Netherlands shows a age and sex distribution which is very similar to that of the United States. Figure 12 shows how the women have a slight margin over the men for the total population as well as for the categories over 30 years of age. Secondly, the figure makes it quite clear that there is now and shortly will be in even

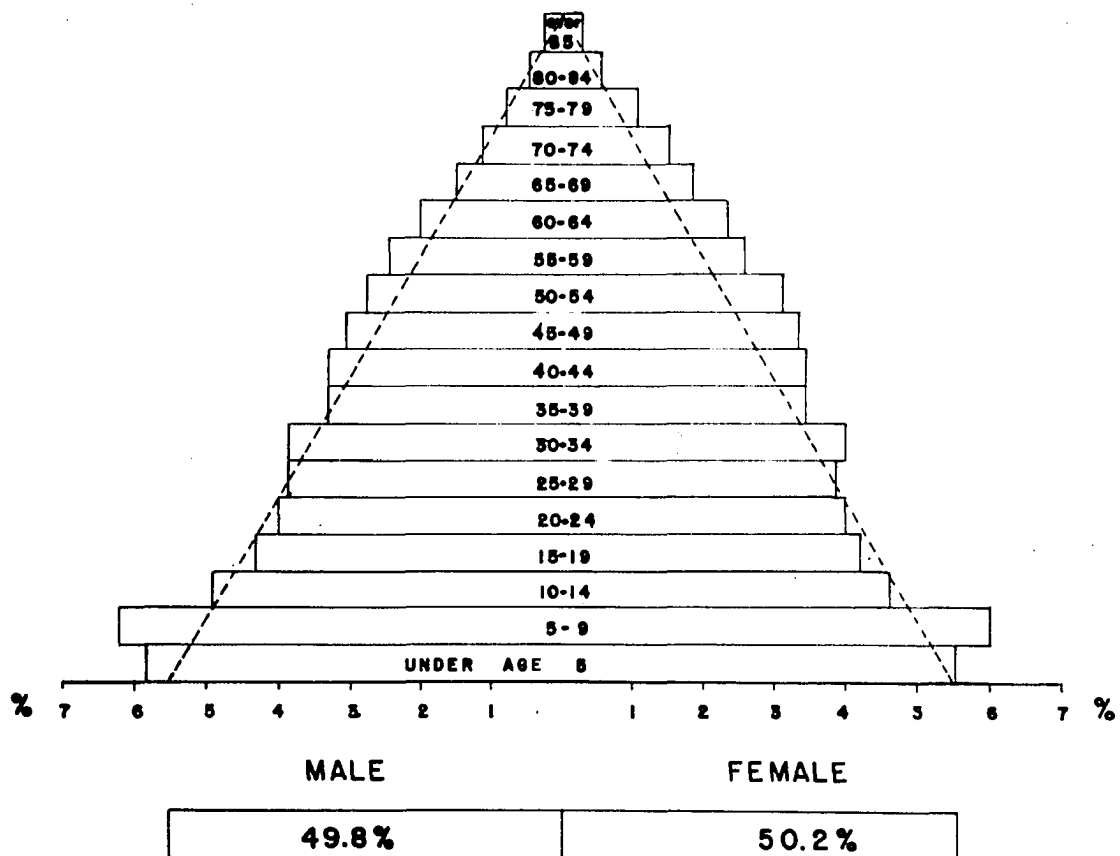
---

<sup>83</sup>Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, Zestig jaren Statistiek in tijdreeksen, 1899-1959 (Zeist: W. deHaan, 1959, Section B, columns 3, 32, 33, 41, 44).

<sup>84</sup>Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Herwonnen Welvaart (The Hague: Staatsdrukkerij, 1954), p. 159.



Figure 12  
 POPULATION PYRAMID  
 for  
 The Netherlands\*  
 (1953 est.)



\*Based upon figures from United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Statistical Office of the United Nations, Demographic Yearbook 1957, New York: United Nations, 1957, p. 147.

greater measure an important segment of the population which needs employment opportunity. Thirdly, there are implications to be read in the statistics that pose an aged citizens problem quite similar to that in most Western industrialized societies. Table 4 shows how the population is distributed over the eleven provinces of the kingdom. The two largest provinces -population-wise- are located in the Western part of the country, which makes that part of the country definitely the most densely populated.

Table 4

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION<sup>85</sup>  
by provinces  
1948

Groningen	4%	Noord-Holland (Western)	18%
Friesland	5%	Zuid-Holland (Western)	24%
Drenthe	3%	Zeeland (Western)	3%
Overijssel	7%	Noord-Brabant	12%
Gelderland	11%	Limburg	7%
Utrecht	6%		

The urban nature of the population is rather to be expected when so much population is distributed in so little space, particularly in the Western part of the country. Table 5 shows how urbanization has progressed since 1930. In the category of communities of 20,000 or more population some rather marked increases in population have occurred.

The solution to the problem of finding employment for the current population surplus seems to point to a natural increased interest in

---

<sup>85</sup> Vademecum van een aantal marktanalytische gegevens van Nederland  
(The Hague: Centraal Bureau voor Courantenpubliciteit, 1951).

Table 5

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION<sup>86</sup>  
by size of communities  
1930-1957

Year	<u>-5,000</u> <u>% towns</u>		<u>5-10,000</u> <u>% towns</u>		<u>10-20,000</u> <u>% towns</u>		<u>20- 100,000</u> <u>% towns</u>		<u>100,000-</u> <u>% towns</u>	
1930	21.2	774	15.2	172	14.9	86	21.5	40	27.2	6
1940	17.9	710	14.6	183	16.0	102	24.0	49	27.5	7
1950	14.0	614	14.1	209	14.8	112	25.5	68	31.3	11
1955	13.0	589	13.9	215	14.4	114	26.4	73	32.2	12
1956	12.7	585	13.6	215	15.0	118	26.6	73	32.0	12
1957	12.5	578	13.6	214	15.0	120	27.0	73	31.8	12

European economic integration.<sup>87</sup> Another device for increasing employment opportunities is to attract foreign industries to The Netherlands. The Netherlands Industrial Institute, which works with government backing, has been particularly successful in attracting American industries. These American enterprises are trying to get on the inside of the European Common Market in the sense that they prefer establishing plants in Western Europe rather than having to face tariff discriminations or virtual competitive exclusions from the market. The Netherlands has been preferred territory because of its labor supply, its labor peace, its political stability, its favorable geographic location (cheap water transportation

---

<sup>86</sup> Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, Statistisch Zakboek 1958 (Zeist: W. de Haan, 1958).

<sup>87</sup> Most interesting discussions of this problem are found in the official government report on results of the European Recovery Program (Herwonnen Welvaart, pp. 159-164) and in a report by a study group of the Dutch Labor Party (Wiardi Beekman Stichting, Bevolkingsgroei en maatschappelijke verantwoordelijkheid, Amsterdam: Arbeiderspers, 1955, pp. 120-132).

both ways) and the resident commercial skill (Dutch businessmen knew how to get hard money payments for their exports). By 1958 plants had been established in The Netherlands by 115 American companies amounting to a total investment of approximately 350 million dollars; the export sales of these plants amounted to 5 per cent of all the goods exported from The Netherlands.<sup>88</sup>

#### Economic Structure

The degree of industrialization, commerce, services and agricultural activity of the population may be approximately determined from the percentage breakdown of the population engaged in these pursuits. Table 6 shows how significant the shift in occupational patterns has been. It may also be assumed that population pressures will tend to accelerate

Table 6

COMPOSITION OF THE WORKING POPULATION<sup>89</sup>  
in percentages of total  
1899-1956

Year	Agriculture	Industry	Commerce Transportation Banking, Insurance	Others
1899	29.6	32.8	18.3	19.3
1909	27.3	34.3	20.1	18.3
1920	22.9	36.9	22.2	18.0
1930	20.1	37.9	24.2	17.6
1947	19.4	26.9	23.7	20.1
1956	12.4		87.6	

<sup>88</sup>New York Times, February 15, 1958. An interesting description of these activities may be found in Herbert Solow, "The Dutch Get Private Dollars", Fortune, L. (September 1954) pp. 1928-130, 186-192.

<sup>89</sup>Zestig jaar statistiek, Section H, columns 6-9.

such developments. Table 7 shows how the increasing importance of industry is reflected in that sector's contribution to the national income.

The relative unpredictability of the country's economy may be exemplified by what happened in 1953. On January 27, 1953, the Dutch government announced it could do without further foreign aid. A few days later the southwestern part of the country was devastated by tremendous floods. Result of that disaster was the Delta Plan, a gigantic water control and reclamation plan. This 450 million dollar project which is estimated to take at least twenty years to complete is typical of the sort of initiative the Dutch government has shown when faced with national decisions. It is interesting to note that great popular support facilitates this type

Table 7

CONTRIBUTIONS TO NATIONAL INCOME<sup>90</sup>  
in percentages of total  
1921-1957

Year	Fishing Agriculture	Industry	Others
1921	13	30	57
1930	10	32	58
1939	11	34	55
1950	15	39	46
1957	12	42	46

of planned programming. The Stichting van de Arbeid (Foundation of Labor), a council composed of representatives of labor and employer's organization, has helped to involve various socio-economic elements in the planning process. Its ability as an advisory group to the government (comparable

---

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., Section P, columns 24-26.

to the Social-Economic Council in France) is evident through its obtaining an agreement from labor to two separate 5 per cent reductions in real wages in 1951.<sup>91</sup> Such peaceful adjustments have helped to return prosperity to The Netherlands.

The prosperity of the Dutch people may be seen from the gradual change in income classes between 1950 and 1955. The number of taxpayers in income classes of less than 3,000 guilders had decreased sharply from about 65% in 1950 to less than 40% in 1955. The number of persons in the category of 3 to 6,000 guilders increased in this period from 27% to 44%. In the category from 6 to 10,000 guilders from 5 to 11%, and the group with an income of 10,000 guilders or more from 3 to 5%. The number of millionaires in The Netherlands increased from 941 in 1951 to 2243 in 1956, while the average 'worth' of these millionaires grew from 1.9 million in 1951 to 2.03 million in 1956. The most striking indication comes from a check of the percentage of taxpayers who had assets exceeding 100,000 guilders. In 1951 this amounted to 45%, and in 1956 there were 57% of the taxpayers who were 'worth' more than 100,000 guilders.<sup>92</sup>

#### Social Stratification

To recognize the relevance of this discussion of socio-economic characteristics of the Dutch people, some mention should be made of the social structure and its meaning for the distribution of political power.

---

<sup>91</sup>"Booming Holland", Fortune, L (August 1954), p. 60.

<sup>92</sup>These income statistics have been derived directly and indirectly from Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, Inkomenverdeling 1955 (Zeist: W. de Haan, 1959).

In The Netherlands the concept of status is built upon a background of a system of estates (Dutch 'stand'). When European societies were predominantly agricultural in pursuit the greatest status was derived from the ownership of land. The social significance of sizable bank deposits, savings or stock holdings is somewhat related to that original measure of power. The ability of the nobility to translate its former landholdings into more liquid assets tended to keep social stratification more rigid. Vertical mobility was drastically limited from the 'middenstand' (middle class) to the 'adel' (nobility) and to a somewhat lesser degree from 'arbeider' (labor ) to 'middenstand'. The land-owning farmers occupied a rather peculiar position; even though they were not part of the middle class, they enjoyed similar status. This estate-consciousness of the Dutch people prevails even today. The privileges of the various levels of social status are only hesitantly and slowly broken down.

A recent study in occupational prestige stratification shows the remnant of the pre-industrial estate system. Even though this van Heek study was taken from a small sample and was inclined to ask what the respondents thought the ranking of professions and occupations 'should be', it forms an interesting illustration of prestige ranking of functional groups. Professions based upon considerable education and training were ranked much higher than successful positions in business. Table 8 gives a partial listing of the results of the study.

Prestige ranking of this sort may hardly be interpreted as indicative of public affairs or foreign affairs opinion leadership. In their respective fields of occupation or endeavor these functional groups

Table 8

OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE STRATIFICATION<sup>93</sup>  
in The Netherlands

Profession or Occupation	Average position on scale from 1-57	Deviation from aver- age
University Professor	52.2	6.4
M.D.	50.8	5.2
Mayor of large city	50.4	7.6
Judge	50.4	8.4
Engineer	48.7	7.9
Notary*	47.4	8.1
Attorney	47.0	9.5
Dentist	46.2	6.2
Director of big business (e.g. 500 employees)	46.2	8.9
Veterinarian	46.2	7.1
Mayor of small city or town	45.2	8.1
Minister	44.6	11.6
Teacher in high school	43.9	6.9
Priest (RC)	43.8	12.7
High-ranking military officer	43.4	14.6
Director small business	39.1	8.0
Teacher at trade school	38.6	7.0
Civil servants of high grade	37.7	8.5
Lower-ranking military officers	35.5	12.2
Teacher in grade school	35.4	8.5

\*The notary is trained extensively in the law, abstracting of property titles and witnessing of legal papers. To some degree the position is identifiable with the land-owning and propertied classes.

may have a voice of authority, but their influence on the people's opinion on economic and political questions may be virtually insignificant. In The Netherlands, for instance, much greater prestige in public affairs opinion leadership is held by men like the Chairman of the Rotterdam Chamber of Commerce, the Chairman of the Board of Utrecht Trade Fair,

---

<sup>93</sup>F. van Heek, et al., Sociale stijging en daling in Nederland (Leiden: Stenfert Kroese, 1958), Volume I, p. 25.



the President of the National Association of Employers, the Vice-President of the Phillips Electrical Works, and the President of the Iron and Steel Works. The prestige afforded these individuals is correlated to the great interest of the Dutch people in international economic co-operation.

It is fascinating to note that in spite of the traditional elements, the Dutch social structure is characterized by some of the same changes that are occurring all over Europe. Raymond Aron describes how company managers are replacing the company directors, and how trade union leaders and leaders of the masses are asserting themselves in a Europe which increasingly seems to be adopting evolutionary socialism as its goal and method.<sup>94</sup> Schumpeter makes similar observations which suggest that men of special training now are becoming the bulwark of the influential elites.<sup>95</sup>

Lack of awareness of social stratification by USIS personnel has been indicated before. It is a rumor that invitation lists are normally made up on the basis of the official's knowledge of the American social stratification system, with a disproportionate representation going to business and commercial elite and relative avoidance of the nobility and the traditional elite. The latter have retained a large amount of prestige with the Dutch population, in spite of industrialization.

---

<sup>94</sup> Raymond Aron, "Social Structure and the Ruling Class", in Reinhard Bendix and S.M. Lipset (ed.), Class, Status and Power (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953), p. 577.

<sup>95</sup> Joseph A. Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy (New York: Harper and Brothers), pp. 131-142 (Third Edition).

### Cultural Patterns

When evaluating the Dutch communication audience immediate notice needs to be made of the religious division of the society and the consequential institutional features. Even though The Netherlands is commonly identified as a Calvinistic Reformed community, the actual population statistics show that the Catholics and a large number of sects have considerable following also. In 1947, the latest census, showed that 38.5% of the population declared loyalty to the Roman Catholic Church, 31.1% of the population to the Dutch Reformed, and 9.7% orthodox Dutch Reformed (Gereformeerd), with 3.7% to the other denominations, which include fundamentalists as well as more sophisticated groups. 17% of the population indicated no affiliation of any sort.<sup>96</sup>

### Pillarization

This division which is changing slowly is reflected in the so-called "pillarization" of the Dutch society. The social structure is arranged on top of and around four pillars: The Roman Catholic, the orthodox Protestant, the liberal Protestant, and the Socialist. Prior to 1940 the Socialist Party was basically humanist in orientation, but since the reorganization of the party following World War II the Socialist ranks include many liberal Protestants as well as some Roman Catholics. These cleavages into pillars do not run through all societal institutions but certainly through the great majority. As such it may be said that each pillar has its own ideology, its own press, its own schools (the public

---

<sup>96</sup>Statistisch Zakboek, 1958.

schools for the socialists), its own radio broadcasting organization, its own labor unions, its own youth movements, its own women organizations, its own recreation associations, etc.<sup>97</sup>

It may be pointed out that this pillarization has a distinct advantage in that the struggle of ideas generally is fought out on a higher level than in other societies.<sup>98</sup> However, there appear too many disadvantages. In the first place, the system perpetuates itself by its very characteristic of isolation.<sup>99</sup> Distinct walls of separation tend to lead to a lack of knowledge and understanding of the other groups. Ethnocentrism and distortions in image will logically result. These intensified identifications with the own group and discovery of differences with the other group almost certainly will perpetuate, or even deepen or widen the cleavage between them. The sociologist Kruyt quite properly warns that intensification of this pillarization may well lead to a stage in which the citizenry has only relatively few culture norms in common. He even warns of the possibility that some pillar group after having attained a majority may seek to force its culture norms upon the minority which would turn the democratic arrangement into a dictatorship of the majority.<sup>100</sup> This fear of imposition or domination is particularly strong in Protestant

<sup>97</sup>Toekomst der Nederlandse Beschaving (Nijmegen: Het Nationaal Instituut, 1946), p. 92.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid., p. 40.

<sup>99</sup>One technique of isolation is the custom of placing 'help wanted ads' making specific request for persons with certain religious affiliation.

<sup>100</sup>J.P. Kruyt, "Sociologische beschouwingen over zuilen en verzuiling", Socialisme en Democratie, (1959), No. 1, pp. 28-29.

circles in regard to the Roman Catholic sector of the Dutch and European society.

The cleavages and separations of the pillared society are strong indications of the individualism of person and group which is so striking with the Dutch people and society. An interesting observation was made by Kruyt concerning the possible causation of the pillarization. He suggests that the "weak, slumbering, national consciousness" may be the basis, while the low national consciousness would possibly be attributable to the smallness of the country, its strong international orientation (commerce and merchant marine activities) and its long-lasting period of peace (neutral in World War I; no major involvement since Napoleonic conquest)<sup>101</sup>. Grounds for this observation were partially derived from observations made during the second world war when cleavages were abruptly abridged by extreme solidarity in national consciousness and determination.

Kruyt is quite correct in suggesting that the Dutch are more internationalist inclined and less nationalistic than many other European peoples. International orientation brings with it a relatively great degree of toleration and understanding for the reasonable aspirations of other nation states. The Dutch, being quite practical, expect that the same reasonableness will be afforded them.

Besides tolerance there are certain other traits of character of the Dutch that are highly attractive to most Americans: perseverance, independence and a drive for freedom.<sup>102</sup> The stories of Dutch perse-

<sup>101</sup>J. P. Kruyt in Toekomst der Nederlandse Beschaving, p. 92.

<sup>102</sup>J. J. Keuning, Mozaiek der functies (The Hague: Leopolds, 1955), pp. 20-21.

verance through the trials and tribulations of the disasters of man (German occupation) and nature (flood of 1953) are almost legendary in the United States. Belief in independence is exemplified by the war against Spanish domination in the sixteenth century, the aid afforded American revolutionaries, maintenance of neutralism during World War I, and resistance activities during the German occupation.

Common sense, a certain fondness for material values, thrift and an inclination to calculate, are listed by a Dutch psychologist as traits which tend to make the Dutch particularly fit for industrial enterprise.<sup>103</sup> This aptness, however, is handicapped by complimentary characteristics such as the tendency to think carefully and cautiously, conservatism, soberness<sup>104</sup> (even to the point of penny-pinching), picayunishness and occasional stuffy respectability. It is suggested by Oldendorff that these latter characteristics are detrimental to the achievements in a capitalistic entrepreneur-directed society. Some of these traits are suggestedly attributable to the close proximity of the small-sized country society and a certain unconscious inclination to Gemutlichkeit. It seems that these observations are suffering from the danger of generalization, a difficulty which seems to be a natural consequence of any attempt to determine national character by non-scientific means. The Dutch exhibit the listed traits to a varying extent in the several societal components without allowing

---

<sup>103</sup>A. Oldendorff in Toekomst der Nederlandse Beschaving, p. 105.

<sup>104</sup>This soberness is described by some observers as a Spartan determination. E.g. there is still a considerable stigma connected with the system of credit purchasing. Additional employment opportunities that might be obtained by this acceleration of consumptive ability are not sufficiently attractive to overcome this traditional attitude.

easy categorizing. Generalities can not be made with regard to the relative predominance of certain of these traits in certain components of society, but some logical observations may be made with regard to several groups. Thus, it may be assumed that the orthodox Protestant element which is highly common in the Northern and Central rural regions exhibits caution, carefulness, conservatism, soberness and respectability, while the Southern urban and rural population, which is mostly Roman Catholic, is more jovial and inclined to exhibit a fondness for material values. Such generalizations might not only be made with regard to regional, religious and rural/urban environments, but also with regard to the various social stratifications. The aristocracy is much more bestowed with common sense, thrift, careful thinking, and respectability, while the labor element is inclined to be more security-minded, less frugal and more fond of immediate material satisfactions. It becomes quite apparent from these cross-references and tabulations that the Dutch national character is a most complex, if not unidentifiable entity.

These character traits, as well as certain physical factors, undoubtedly have been highly instrumental in such things as the relative political and labor peace in the country, the successfulness of the Dutch in commerce and service industries, their achievement in the field of research in the exact sciences, and their reputation for impartiality and international leadership.

These national character observations also definitely tie in with the possibility of the United States bringing about the desired relevant political action at the desired time. Cross-differentiations of the characteristics of the several micro-publics in the whole of Dutch

society become more important as the information materials become more specialized and more specifically directed.

A major difficulty encountered in the communication between Americans and persons or audiences from The Netherlands is derived from the personality structures of the two peoples. Kurt Lewin suggests that there is a substantial difference in the social distance between an American and his fellow citizen and the European and his peer.<sup>105</sup> Lewin makes a distinction between personality structures, as suggested in Figure 13. The average European has a rather hard shell, which is not easily penetrated by the outsider. The American, relatively speaking, has a much thinner veiling before a much heavier barrier is erected against exposing the most intimate inner core. It is suggested that the average American partakes of group life and communicates with a much greater part of his personality ("Call me by my first name", "Drop in anytime", etc.) and as such is more open for communication of new ideas.

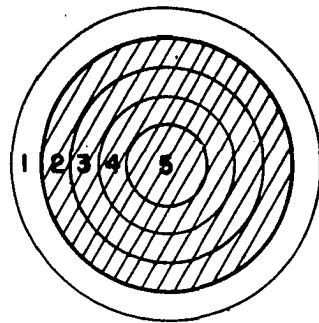
These hypotheses have interesting implications with regard to the possibility of effective communication with Europeans, more particularly with Dutchmen. It should be kept in mind that, after the initial ice is broken, greater areas of the Dutchman's more intimate self become involved. Thus greater chances exist for conflict in personal relations and defensive attitudes toward different ideas. However, once the Dutchman regards an information source as reliable he will stay loyal longer than the average American with his less stable

---

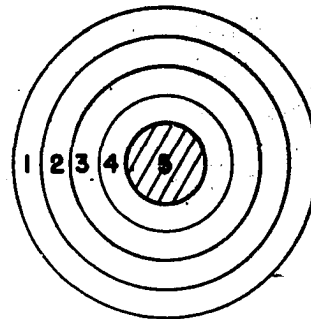
<sup>105</sup> Kurt Lewin, Resolving Social Conflicts (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948), pp. 3-33.

Figure 13

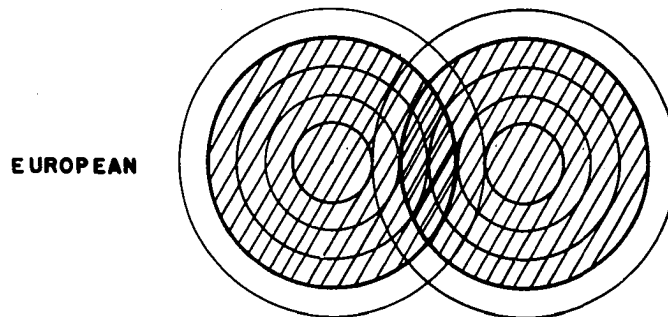
COMPARATIVE PERSONALITY STRUCTURES



EUROPEAN PERSONALITY

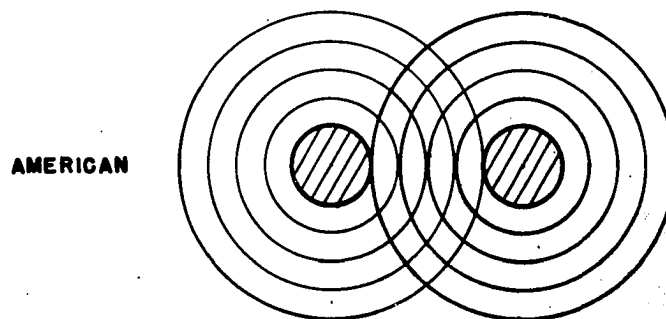


AMERICAN PERSONALITY



EUROPEAN

COMMUNICATION OF PERSONALITIES



AMERICAN



personality structure.

Some mention should also be made of the educational pattern in The Netherlands. Traditionally the educational system, particularly in the areas of higher education has been limited as to participation by the various strata of the society. University training until World War II was basically a privilege of the few, and then the few who were financially endowed.

#### Educational System

The school system in the preparatory levels of education reflects specialization at a rather early age, which forces the student to decide in the sixth grade which one of three directions he will go: junior high school (M.U.L.O.), high school with consequent limited possibilities as to major areas of study in college or university (H.B.S.), or the classical college prep curriculum (gymnasium). At the end of the eighth grade (H.B.S. and gymnasium) the student has to choose again between a liberal arts/commerce curriculum or a program with emphasis on the exact sciences. Successful completion of these directed study programs is a distinct prerequisite for admission to college or university. The system by itself eliminates many who should never enter institutions of higher education. The length of the educational program not publicly required or provided free of charge is rather lengthy and costly. Compulsory school attendance is set to age fourteen or after completion of seventh grade. A prospective lawyer would have to have parents who could afford to finance him through school from ten to eleven years after his publicly provided education in elementary school. It is clear that

such an arrangement merely perpetuates the professional elite and affords occasional education also to the new commercial elite. This is particularly true since scholarship programs for lower middle class and lower class students were virtually non-existent before the war and are still relatively scarce today. Table 9 shows the increase in post-elementary school education with a particularly striking increase in attendance of institutions of higher learning.

Table 9

ATTENDANCE OF INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING  
BEYOND ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS 106  
1900-1957  
(per 10,000 of the population between ages  
of 12-25 years)

Year	M.U.L.O	Teacher Training	H.B.S. & Gymnasium	Trade school	Ag. Hort.	Higher Learning
1900	136		101	155	26	21
1910	311	77	125	265	100	32
1920	413	43	193	414	141	47
1930	426	49	223	617	153	60
1940	501	21	287	707	203	67
1950	566	47	369	1147	249	125
1957	782	72	548	1602	267	137

Interestingly enough, it is predicted that in 1970 there will be about 56,000 students in Dutch colleges and universities, in contrast to 13,000 in 1940.<sup>107</sup> It may be assumed that this prediction is based on the expectation of increased aid to the gifted student regardless of socio-economic origin.

---

<sup>106</sup>Zestig jarr statistiek, Section F, columns 12 through 19.

<sup>107</sup>From a speech made by Jonkheer Dr. M.L. van Holthe tot Echten on September 18, 1959 at the University of Utrecht.

Adjustments in the educational structure are also contemplated with special regard to the experiences and experiments of American education. The campus community, the mixture of requirements and electives, and easing of shifts in major study areas are just some of the ideas incorporated in a colossal educational reform act proposed by the government. Many cry 'Americanism' and 'mediocracy', but it seems that these adjustments are inevitable to a certain degree.

Some rather striking observations have been made about the intellectual role played by the Roman Catholics in Dutch society. Matthijsen points out how the intellectual and economic development in Europe has been stimulated, since the sixteenth century, by two elements: Calvinism and rationalistic individualism, both of which were opposed to and by Roman Catholic teaching. He shows how the Roman Catholic leadership and membership developed a distrust of the exact sciences and other products of modern civilization. It is indicated how the occupational and professional structure of the Roman Catholic element in the population -the large-size family and a relatively underdeveloped intelligentsia- is blocking rapid intellectual emancipation. Democratization of intellectual training, which will make it possible to overcome the lack of intellectual or cultural tradition in the parental home, is seen as the only possible solution.<sup>108</sup>

Table 10 reflects how the various political groupings, including the confessional parties, are represented in the elementary

---

<sup>108</sup>M. Matthijsen, De intellectuele emancipatie der katholieken (Assen: van Gorcum, 1958) as reviewed by E. Brogersma in De Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant of August 12, 1959.

and secondary school teachers in The Netherlands. The Organization for Comparative Social Research conducted a study in seven Western-European countries in 1953, on the assumption that the teacher is an important link in social and political communication processes, as a transmitter of information as well as the actual and potential molder of opinion. It is interesting to see how low the percentage is of Roman Catholic

Table 10

PARTY IDENTIFICATION  
IN THE NATIONAL TEACHER SAMPLE<sup>109</sup>  
compared to national vote distribution.

Party	% of Total (400)	Element. teachers (300)	Second. teachers (100)	% of votes (1952)
CHU-SGP	8%	9%	3%	11.3%
Anti-Rev.	14	10	10	20.11
VVD (Liberal)	9	5	19	
Cath. People's P.	35	37	22	28.7
Labor Party	19	17	25	29.0
Communist	-	-	-	
No party	3	3	6	
No answer	9	8	10	

teachers in secondary education, and particularly how many more Labor Party and Liberal Party affiliated teachers there are in that same category (secondary school). The latter two political parties draw most of their support from Dutch Reformed and Humanist circles.

---

<sup>109</sup>S. Rokkan, "Party Preference and Opinion Patterns in Western Europe", International Social Science Bulletin, VII (1956), p. 583. The CHU, SGP and Anti-Revolutionary parties are Protestant parties.

Political Structure<sup>110</sup>

The Kingdom of The Netherlands is structured as a constitutional monarchy on a parliamentary basis. The position of the royal family and the Queen in particular must be judged within the context of such a constitutional arrangement. The position of Queen Juliana, and her immediate predecessors, should be singled out particularly because of their personalities and the situational factors during their respective reigns. The incumbent Queen seeks to provide moral leadership in the field of foreign affairs and directs most of her attention to domestic policies and the harmony between the various interests in Dutch society. The Prince Consort Prince Bernhard, however, has shown some outstanding initiative in seeking to promote European unification along non-political lines (e.g. cultural lines). The Prince should also be regarded as quite influential because of his so-called 'Bilderberg-group'. This institution evolves around an annual conference in which a maximum of one hundred persons participate. This Dutch 'White House Conference' usually includes from thirty to forty Americans, and the meetings are open discussions where with great frankness opinions are exchanged. The basic objective seems to be to facilitate understanding of the different points of view of the selected participants.<sup>111</sup>

---

<sup>110</sup>See E. van Raalte, Het Nederlandse Parlement (The Hague: Staatsdrukkerij, 1958). A description of the party system and the several parties may be found in J.J. de Jong, Politieke organisatie in West-Europa na 1800 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1951).

<sup>111</sup>Prince Bernhard, "Minds Across the Atlantic", Delta, September 1959), pp. 19-25.

Beyond such informal leadership and guidance as given by the Queen and her Prince Consort, the Crown counter-signs all legislative measures and appointments and holds a key position in the designation of a Cabinet formulator. The latter responsibility which is so important in the multi-party parliamentary form of government tends to offer varying possibilities for the exertion of influence by the Queen. In most cases the choice of formulator is rather limited as it tends to follow the outcome of the elections or the current division of the legislature. There are, nevertheless, occasional opportunities where the Queen after due consultation with the traditional officials (e.g. the vice-chairman of the Council of State, the chairmen of the legislative chambers and chairmen of the party factions in the legislature) may swing the designation into the direction of a moderate or more conservative individual or faction as she prefers.

The basic governing responsibilities are thus carried by the parties coalescing in their control of the majority in the legislature and their formulation of the Cabinet.

The Dutch national legislature is bicameral with an indirectly elected First Chamber (Eerste Kamer) and a Second Chamber (Tweede Kamer) which is directly elected by universal suffrage of persons of the age 23 and over.

The relations between the two chambers is such that the real legislative power resides in the Second Chamber, with the First Chamber merely being able to question, to interpellate, and to choose between

passage as presented or vetoing.<sup>112</sup> The veto power is coupled with the First Chamber's incapacity to amend legislation, and has not been exercised but with the greatest hesitancy and rarity. Occasional voices have arisen suggesting that this First Chamber be abolished since its original purpose -of providing a sort of House of Lords to enable political participation by the Southern peerage- has outlived its utility. The possible function of serving as a revisionist organ double-checking the more partisan Second Chamber seems attractive but does not necessarily reflect reality. The First Chamber in most instances is a slowed-down mirroring of the proceedings in the other chamber.

#### Elections and Voting Behavior

Although the Constitution of the Kingdom of The Netherlands states that the legislators shall be free agents set free from pressure by and consultation with their constituents- they are in reality elected as a result of their affiliation with a party and its platform. The membership of the Second Chamber is elected through proportional representation operating through a list system. The country is therefore divided into eighteen electoral districts. Lists may be submitted by 25 electors, who may authorize a coalition of lists. The individual voter is given the opportunity to express his first preference for any candidate, although this practically means that the vote will still be counted as a vote for the list on which the candidate appears. The

---

<sup>112</sup> Note the reversal of usual nomenclature. What usually is referred to as the Second Chamber in representative democracies, is here called the "First Chamber", and vice versa.

candidate which is preferred by the voters does have only a very slight chance of winning unless he holds a favorable position of his party's list.<sup>113</sup>

In order that the party lists will attract the voters who do not have any ideological affinity to the party, party councils are quite careful to top their list with as many vote-getting popular candidates as possible. This tendency leads to the perpetuation of the political fortunes of the leaders of the party who are the incumbents and thus have been able to stay prominent in the news. The first preference possibility, thus, puts a certain limit on the party's ability to discipline recalcitrant incumbents, and seems to suggest that seniority in the party and official position are tremendously important.<sup>114</sup>

The members of the First Chamber, who serve for a six year term -with every three years half of its membership being up for re-election- are elected by the members of the provincial assemblies through a system of proportional representation. Rather than dividing up the total number of seats among the provinces according to population, the seats (75 of them) are divided by regions. Zuid-Holland with 24% of the population (see Table 4) has eighteen senators, the legislatures of the provinces Gelderland, Overijssel, Groningen en Drenthe, with 25% of the population,

---

<sup>113</sup>Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, Statistiek der verkiezingen, Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal (Zeist: W. de Haan, 1957) p. 14. shows how 95.6% and 96.6% of the voters in 1952 and 1956 respectively, cast their ballot for the first candidate on their party list.

<sup>114</sup>R. Kranenburg, Politieke organisatie en groep-psychologie (Haarlem: Tjeenk-Willink, 1956), pp. 53-54.



are entitled to select nineteen members, Noord-Holland and Friesland (23% of the population) have seventeen seats, while the Southern provinces (Noord-Brabant, Limburg, Zeeland) and Utrecht have 21 members in the national First Chamber, while having 28% of the population. The peculiar arrangement by which one-half of the membership of the chamber comes up for re-election has been highly criticized. Rather than spreading the seats standing for election evenly over the total country (as the United States Senate) the Dutch give the Western and Eastern provinces their turn one time, while three years later the other sections make their choices. In this way, only one half of the territory and population participate in First Chamber membership elections every three years.<sup>115</sup>

The curious thing about Dutch politics is that political parties developed rather slowly and late. They have grown to be highly responsible (except possibly for the Communist Party) strong organizations of voters. In the parties the basic leadership is provided by the parliamentary party leadership which in most cases is coincidental with the official party leadership.

Table 11 may give some indications as to how the party system has evolved, as shown from the election results for the Second Chamber, the lower house. The number of parties participating in the elections is rather sizable although it has been narrowed down somewhat since the war, particularly because of the establishing of the Labour Party which united Social-Democrats, a number of Liberal-Democrats and membership from a

---

<sup>115</sup>See van Raalte, pp.118-119.

number of splinter parties. The upsurge of the Communist Party as a result of the social and economic disaster of the war and the impression left by the defenders of Stalingrad is also rather striking. With

Table 11

SEATS IN THE SECOND CHAMBER<sup>116</sup>  
as determined by the elections from  
1913-1956

Year	Cath	A.R.	CHU	Libe rals	Lib Dem	Soc Dem	Comm	Others	No. of Parties
1913*	24	11	9	32	7	15	2	2	10
1918	30	13	7	10	5	22	2	12	15
1922	32	16	11	10	5	20	2	3	10
1925	30	13	11	9	7	24	1	1	11
1929	30	12	11	8	7	24	2	2	12
1933	28	14	10	7	6	22	4	9	14
1937	31	17	8	4	6	23	3	8	10
1946	32	13	8	6	-	29	10	2	7
1948	32	13	9	8	-	27	8	3	8
1952	30	12	9	8	-	30	6	4	8
1956**	33	10	8	9	-	34	4	2	7
1957***	49	15	13	13	-	50	7	3	7

\*1913 results are based on single-member district plan.  
Proportional representation was introduced in 1917.

\*\*The Statesman's Yearbook, 1957 (New York: Martin's Press, 1957)

\*\*\*Ibid., 1958. These figures reflect an increased size of the chamber from 100 to 150, not the results of new elections.

Marshall Plan-aided recovery and current relative prosperity the Communists have suffered rather considerable losses (from 10 seats in 1946 to 4 seats in 1956). From these figures it becomes quite evident that coalitions are probable and necessary in order that a working Cabinet be formulated. In the first decade since the war a coalition was formed between the Labour Party and the Catholic People's Party

<sup>116</sup>Enid Lakeman and James D. Lambert, Voting in Democracies (London: Faber and Faber, 1955), p. 180.

through a Cabinet headed by a Socialist, Dr. W. Drees. A cabinet crisis in 1958 brought change in the pattern and produced a coalition Cabinet built around the Roman Catholic People's Party and the Liberal Party, while the Labour Party seeks to function as the voice of the opposition.

Some additional observations may be made concerning the nature of the Dutch political parties. It appears as if the parties which tended to be ideological in origin and program are increasingly directing their appeals to a general public. This general appeal is made more on the basis of the voter's socio-economic interest rather than the purity of the ideology.

Table 12 which represents a compilation of questions which in public opinion polls have been rated by the public as 'calling for immediate action'.<sup>117</sup> That listing gives some ideas as to what appeals have been made to the voters. Except for a temporary devotion to the need for finding a solution to the Indonesian question, elections have evolved around the problems of housing shortage, wages and prices, welfare legislation and work opportunity. These down to earth concerns have led to rather common agreement among all parties as to the desirability of these goals, while disagreements have basically been limited to the means to be employed.

The weakening position of ideology with the Labour Party became quite apparent at the 1959 annual conference when the party program distinctly disavowed the socialist tool of nationalization. This revision

---

<sup>117</sup> J. J. de Jong, Overheid en Onderdaan (Wageningen: Zomer en Keunings, 1956), pp. 211-212.

was the first major change made in the party's platform since 1947.

Table 12

POLITICAL QUESTIONS  
calling for immediate political action<sup>118</sup>

Date	Order of Importance		
	First	Second	Third
May '46	more goods	wages & prices	housing shortage
Jan '47	housing shortage	Indonesia	wages & prices
Oct '47	Indonesia	housing shortage	wages & prices
Jan '48	Indonesia	housing shortage	wages & prices
June '48	housing shortage	Indonesia	econ. regulation
Jan '49	housing shortage	wages & prices	Indonesia
June '49	housing shortage	Indonesia	wages & prices
Jan '50	housing shortage	wages & prices	work opportunity
June '50	housing shortage	wages & prices	taxes
Mar. '51	housing shortage	wages & prices	social welfare
Mar. '52	housing shortage	work opportunity	wages & prices
July '52	housing shortage	work opportunity	wages & prices
Mar. '53	housing shortage	wages & prices	social welfare
Mar. '54	housing shortage	social welfare	wages & prices
Mar. '55	housing shortage	wages & prices	social welfare
Spr. '56	housing shortage	wages & prices	social welfare

Not only are ideological parties becoming less ideological, but it appears as if other break throughs in the pillarized party structure are taking place. Particularly the Protestant element in the population seems to be loosening its ties with the confessional parties. The General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church declared that party choice is a personal conscience matter of every Christian, thereby distinctly loosening the confessionally inspired ties felt by a considerable number of that church's membership.

The Labour Party, which attracted many of the more liberal

---

<sup>118</sup>Ibid., p. 211.

Protestants immediately after its erection in early 1946, seems to be losing some of these Protestants now to the V.V.D. (Liberal Party, which is more inclined to favor the free enterprise economy). The Anti-Revolutionary Party is made up mostly of members of the more severely Calvinistic Orthodox Reformed Church members, who by virtue of their strict following of the Swiss theologian have estranged their fellow-Protestants, the Dutch Reformed. With the liberalization of theology and the refusal of Dutch Reformed to join in the Anti-Revolutionary ranks there seems to be an inevitable depletion of that party.<sup>119</sup>

Tables 13 and 14 illustrate the strength of the parties in the 1952 election with particular cross-checking of urban and rural populations. Particularly Table 14 shows the urban nature of the Communist

Table 13

URBAN-RURAL LOCATION AND POLITICAL CHOICE<sup>120</sup>

Party	Less than 20,000	More than 20,000	Of Which more than 100,000	% of voters
Cath.P.P.	35.6%	23.8%	21.0%	28.7%
Labour P.	22.9	33.3	35.4	29.0
Anti-Rev.	12.8	10.2	9.5	11.3
C.H.U.	11.3	7.3	5.6	8.9
Liberal P.	7.6	9.8	10.5	8.8
Communists	2.5	8.7	11.5	6.2
Others	7.3	6.9	6.5	7.1
% of population	43.0%	57.0%	31.1%	100.0%

<sup>119</sup>Ibid., pp. 180-183.

<sup>120</sup>Ibid., p. 104.

vote and the distinctly rural nature of the Catholic vote and the Protestant confessional party followings. A rather curious picture is presented by the following of the Liberal Party (V.V.D.), which finds its greatest strength divided equally between the strictly urban and strictly rural areas. The Labour Party appears to be the party with the most general following, which quite well correspond with its

Table 14

URBAN-RURAL DISTRIBUTION WITHIN PARTIES<sup>121</sup>

Party	Less than 20,000	20,000- 100,000	More than 100,000	Total
Cath. P.P.	53.0	24.2	22.8	100
Labour P.	34.0	28.0	26.1	100
Anti-Rev.	48.7	25.2	26.1	100
C.H.U.	54.6	25.8	19.6	100
Liberal P.	37.1	25.8	37.1	100
Communists	17.3	25.0	57.7	100
% of population	43.0%	25.9%	31.1%	100%

decreasing class nature. The Marxist struggle is only expressed through the Communist Party, while -as stated above-the Labour Party has been and is becoming more and more a moderate middle-of-the-road welfare state party, which is just about the nature of the Catholic People's Party (K.V.P.).

In the early spring of 1954 a study was made by the Dutch Gallup affiliate at the request of a government committee charged with studying the possibilities of electoral reforms. The basic objective of the study was to get as much information as possible about the attitudes of Dutch

---

<sup>121</sup>Ibid.

voters towards the election system and the political party system, and to find some general election behavior pattern.<sup>122</sup> Some rather interesting findings were published in the official report.

Concerning the voter's method of informing himself, it was found -as has been more or less true in the United States and elsewhere- that the campaign is carried on outside of the traditional political rallies. The average Dutch voter listens more of political commentaries on radio (and we assume also on television) than he participates in election meetings and rallies. Typically Dutch is the reliance upon newspapers; the Dutch voter reads more about politics than he talks about it. It should be kept in mind that this reading, however, is mainly within his religious or partisan paper. Talks and conversations about politics were found to be more of a factual, concrete nature, rather than deep-going political philosophical arguments.<sup>123</sup>

Some other interesting voting behavior patterns were revealed from the investigation of attitudes towards compulsory voting. Eight out of ten respondents said they would go out and vote regardless of such requirements. This is much more than the percentage of voters interested in politics (five out of ten), and many more than those who are active in the political parties (three out of ten). Of the voters without political conviction 56% said they would go out and vote even if compulsory requirements were repealed. When these voters were asked what motivated them to turn out regardless, they called it democratic duty

---

<sup>122</sup>De Nederlandse Kiezer (The Hague: Staatsdrukkerij, 1956).

<sup>123</sup>Ibid., p. 28.

or similar high idealism.<sup>124</sup>

The hereditary nature of the vote was not easily determined. Twenty-five percent of the respondents did not answer the question. The reservedness, referred to in the discussion of the Dutch personality structure, shows quite clearly here. One thing that became quite clear from the answers given was that the correlation between the votes of husband and wife was much greater than that between father and child. In 75% of the cases husband and wife indicated they vote the same, and only 4% admitted they voted different than their spouse. Following the vote of the father was admitted by 58%, while 18% said they differed from their father's vote.<sup>125</sup>

#### Legislature and Executive Branch

All Dutch subjects who have reached the age of 30 years may be elected as members of the legislature (Estates-General). The Second Chamber has thirteen women among its members (7 Labour, 2 Catholic, 2 Liberal, 1 Christian Historic Union, and 1 Communist), while the First Chamber has four women members (Labour, Catholic, Liberal and Communist each having one).<sup>126</sup>

A breakdown according to professional and/or occupational backgrounds show that a large percentage of the Second Chamber membership were officials of employers and employee organizations (14%), with 12%

<sup>124</sup>Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>125</sup>Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>126</sup>Van Raalte, p. 121.



from positions of mayor or other municipal and provincial government positions. Teachers and professors are also represented in number. The remainder are mainly professional party officials, journalists and attorneys.

A breakdown of the two largest factions, immediately after the 1956 elections, shows some interesting differences. The Labour Party representation had drawn one-fifth of its parliamentary party membership from government employees (consider the rather lengthy stretch of Labour participation in post-war coalitions). Fourteen per cent of the Labourites were professional party workers, with twelve per cent being journalists and twelve per cent labor union employees or officials. Teachers made up the fourth largest element with nine per cent. The Catholic People's Party does not have any prominent professional or occupational groups represented in its parliamentary representation. Employers and employee organization officials, municipal and provincial government and teachers and professors make up the largest individual categories (each with 12%) within that party's faction. Attorneys, businessmen and government employees come next in order of representation, with respectively ten, ten and nine per cent of the party's parliamentary party.<sup>127</sup>

The First Chamber has as its largest occupational group municipal and provincial officials (22% of its members). College and university professors make up 12 per cent of the First Chamber's membership,

---

<sup>127</sup>Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, Statistiek der verkiezingen 1956, Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal (Zeist: W. de Haan, 1957) pp. 22-23.

while another 12 per cent were officials of employer and employee organizations.<sup>128</sup>

The academic background of the legislators does not show anything unusual. In the Second Chamber 69 of the 150 received academic training, with 43 of these having taken work in constitutional, administrative or other areas of the law, and eleven in economics. In the First Chamber there is a higher academic representation with 45 out of 75 members. Thirty of these were in some area of law.<sup>129</sup>

Relations between Estates-General and Cabinet. --The relations between Cabinet and legislature are presumably dualistic in nature, with each of the two branches being independent from the other and neither having the upper hand. This dualism, however, is modified by the political realities of the cabinet or parliamentary form of government. In the formulation of the public will, the legislative process, the executive seems to have predominance. A bill, after having been written in an executive department, is discussed first in the Cabinet upon the assumption of collective responsibility. After Cabinet approval the bill is submitted to the Council of State, which is the traditional advisory council to the Crown. The Council's advice is attached to the measure which is then submitted to the Queen, who adds a Royal Message. At this point the bill with the Royal Message and an explanatory memorandum by the department concerned in the introduction of the bill is referred to the Second Chamber. The appropriate committee of the Second Chamber,

---

<sup>128</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>129</sup>Ibid., p. 23.

having considered the bill, issues its provisional report which is sent to the appropriate executive department and is then published. In answer to this report, the department head (the Minister) submits a memorandum in reply, which is also published and to which, if necessary, may be added a note of modifications. Finally, the bill is debated publicly in the Second Chamber and, if passed, sent on to the First Chamber, where an identical procedure is followed. (The only great difference here is that the First Chamber may not amend). If the bill is passed by the First Chamber, royal assent is given, the bill is countersigned by the minister concerned and after publication becomes law of the land.<sup>130</sup>

In as much as virtually all measures discussed are administration measures, the Cabinet's position seems to resemble the predominance of the Cabinet in Great-Britain. The prevalence of a multi-party system rather than the British two-party arrangement seems to suggest, however, that this predominance is much more limited than with the British Cabinet. In a multi-party system there exists the danger of the breaking up of the governing coalition with the consequent defeat of the Cabinet. Since dissenters who might co-operate in the defeat of the Government could not get together on a combined solution, the formation of new Governments becomes highly discouraging. The realization of this fact has at times presented a temptation for Cabinet or Cabinet members to put the question of confidence rather lightly and arbitrarily. Nevertheless, the final determination of confidence lies with the legislature; and ultimately with the electorate. At the time of the periodic elections or through

---

<sup>130</sup>van Raalte, pp. 172-192.

a special election following a dissolution of the parliament the voters will pronounce their judgment.

The record of the Second Chamber dissolutions since the enactment of the current constitution -more than a century ago- indicates general reluctance to resort to this means. It is suggested that cabinets which may be tempted to abuse the constitutional privilege need to think twice before acting. It has become customary that the Crown presents its reasons for dissolution. Such publication would open enough democratic opportunity for protestation. Only seven dissolutions of the Second Chamber and one for the First Chamber in a century are indicative of the rarity of legislative dissolutions.<sup>131</sup>

Stability of the cabinets in The Netherlands shows a similar favorable record. In the period from 1888 to 1956 (excepting the war years of 1939-1946) seventeen cabinets have governed the country. At least thirteen of these served their full four year term, while fourteen were defeated and/or drastically changed in composition between regular elections.<sup>132</sup> This stable record might partially be derived from the extremely cautious, sometimes rather lengthy procedures followed in the formulation of cabinets.<sup>133</sup> When one considers the fact that cabinets have been based upon coalitions it becomes also apparent that individual ministers may have held positions in several cabinets, a factor which tends to promote continuity in policy. Since coalitions have always

---

<sup>131</sup>Ibid., pp. 55-59.

<sup>132</sup>Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>133</sup>Ibid., p. 52.

been composed of parties which were in agreement on basic issues a considerable degree of stability was maintained.

The Cabinet.--The personnel for the Cabinets is drawn both from the legislature and from outside sources. A member of the legislature is expected to resign his seat within three months after accepting a Cabinet appointment. Increasingly, a number of Cabinet members are drawn from the ranks of the professional managerial personnel of employers and employee organizations.<sup>134</sup> This change in the occupational background of Cabinet personnel follows the changing occupational composition of the legislature, and in turn the occupational and social stratification of the contemporary industrial society.

#### Pressure Groups

Pressure groups were active in Dutch politics before the modern political parties entered the arena. Agricultural organizations, Freemasons, and organizations of professional persons were involved in the political process -in one way or another- several decades before 1789. The Amsterdam Chamber of Commerce infamously fought the abolition of child labor.

It is distinctly true that the activities of pressure groups in Dutch politics have increased also considerably since World War II. The political structure is beginning to adjust itself increasingly to the augmenting importance of groups in the political process. These groups

---

<sup>134</sup> An interesting discussion of this phenomenon was published in a column written by the President of the Second Chamber in the Volkskrant (September 15, 1959), in his column "Tussen Plein en Binnenhof".

are being channelized by constitutional means into the policy making and executing agencies. The Social-Economic Council (Sociaal-Economische Raad) is just one example of how corporatism has crept into the Dutch governmental process. The ideological context of the political process in Western Europe, and The Netherlands, keeps pressure groups in that part of the world from resembling too closely their counterparts in the United States. Traditional respect for authority somehow rules out excessive applications of pressure to the constitutionally prescribed governing process and machinery. In this fashion protections are laid against possible minority rule, through the strong cohesion, financial power and purposefulness of an aggressive pressure group (such as the American Medical Association's attack on the Truman compulsory health insurance suggestion).

Pressure groups that have a distinct interest in Dutch foreign policy formulation and execution are virtually non-existent. This is particularly true if we exclude economic interest groups who would be involved in the benefits or damages of European unification or the tariff policies of outsiders. There have been attempts made since the war and the Indonesian conflict to organize the veterans and have their voice heeded. Certain particularly narrow-based groups have sought to press for their special cause (e.g. "Stichting Indië in Nood"). Most of these efforts have enjoyed very little and very temporary success, if any at all.

#### The Foreign Policy-making Process

Within the governing framework executive predominance in the

field of foreign affairs is unquestionable. The Minister of Foreign Affairs has the knowledge of foreign situations, the foreign service is directly responsible to him, and he has the power of administration. Until 1917, the conduct of foreign affairs as well as the formulation of foreign policy was the responsibility of the crown (i.e. monarch and cabinet or cabinet-minister).<sup>135</sup> On May 10, 1917, the Second Chamber backed a Socialist member's motion requesting regular consultation between the government and the legislature on the business of foreign affairs. The motion provided for the establishment of a permanent committee in the Second Chamber to facilitate such consultation.<sup>136</sup> The committee does not compare with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee or the House Committee on Foreign Affairs of the United States Congress. It performs its responsibilities by asking for desired information and consulting with the government on those things about which the latter wants to hear the legislators. The rules of the Second Chamber allow for the calling of meetings at the initiative of the committee, in order that it might convene beyond the meetings called upon request of the government. The committee is bound to secrecy when the Minister of Foreign Affairs judges the interest of the country to demand such. When no secrecy has been imposed, and this is quite rarely, the committee is expected to report to the total chamber.<sup>137</sup>

---

<sup>135</sup>Article 58 of the Constitution still shows the Crown to have supreme direction of foreign relations.

<sup>136</sup>van Raalte, p. 222.

<sup>137</sup>Philip W. Buck and Martin B. Davis, Control of Foreign Relations in Modern Nations (New York: W.W. Norton, 1957), p. 605.

For years the Minister for Foreign Affairs has hesitated to establish co-ordinated consultation. The fear of the minister has been that the committee possibly might be inclined to force itself into the governing responsibilities of the ministry. Such fears have proven to be ungrounded. On the contrary, there is a customary reluctance within the Dutch parliament to allow committees to assert themselves in such a fashion.<sup>138</sup> The timing of the meetings and the business considered during the committee's history are clear indication of the committee's reservedness.

Since 1945 considerable changes have taken place in the policies and procedures concerning foreign relations. The pre-war independence and neutrality policy was superseded by an active foreign policy. This required increased activity by the Minister for Foreign Affairs with a proportionate increase in his absences from the country. Consequently consultations with the legislative committee were very difficult to schedule, and the amount of consultation decreased rapidly. This condition has been remedied by the appointment of a Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to serve directly under the Minister, and specifically charged with the running of the executive department and consultation with parliament in the absence of the Minister. Meetings of the Committee on Foreign Relations are now quite frequent, and particularly so immediately after or preceding important international conferences.

In 1950 serious questions arose about the relationship between the government and parliament in the area of international relations.

---

<sup>138</sup>van Raalte, pp. 224-225.



The Second Chamber established a committee to study the co-operation between the two. Their report, the Eysenga Report, concluded that in spite of a certain lack of co-operation from either side it would not be advisable to make any changes in Netherlands constitutional law.<sup>139</sup>

The Committee on Foreign Affairs is composed of sixteen full members and sixteen alternates. The party strength is distributed in proportion to the strength of the parties in the total chamber (See Table 15). Factions of three or less in the total chamber are not represented on the Committee. The Communists were excluded from the Committee by action of the Second Chamber of March 19, 1948 during the debate on the Western European Union treaty.

Table 15

DISTRIBUTION OF SEATS AMONG PARTIES  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
SECOND CHAMBER 140

<u>Party</u>	<u>Members of Committee</u>	<u>Members in Chamber</u>
Catholic P.P.	10	49
Labour P.	10	48
Liberal P.	4	19
Anti-Rev. P.	4	14
Christian H.U.	4	13

Ex officio chairman of the committee is the President of the Second Chamber. In the membership are also found the faction leaders of the five major parties. Their membership on the committee reflects

---

<sup>139</sup>Keesings Historisch Archief, 1950, p. 9568.

<sup>140</sup>Particulars supplied by the Clerk of the Second Chamber in a personal letter dated October 28, 1959.

the awareness that foreign policy is becoming increasingly important. It should also be pointed out that within the parliamentary parties a certain amount of specialization takes place. On the committee serve party members who for many years have kept themselves informed and have been active in foreign affairs. Many of them have represented the Dutch parliament or government on international agencies, such as the European Parliament, United Nations General Assembly and other international conferences.

In 1950 the First Chamber established a permanent Committee on Foreign Affairs. This committee was designed to aid in the acquisition of information for the Chamber not for the counseling or consultation with the executive establishment.<sup>141</sup> As such the First Chamber's committee is of very limited significance.

No mention has been made so far of the budget committee for Foreign Affairs and the permanent Committee for Trade Policy. Their importance is relatively minor since, for instance, appropriations may only originate with the Crown and similar executive control exists over trade policy. Thus parliamentary influence in these areas has been severely restricted.

Not all changes that have occurred lately in the division of responsibilities in regard to foreign policy have been alterations of custom and usage. The Dutch Constitution was substantially amended in 1953. Article 59 now distinctly provides that the monarch may not declare

---

<sup>141</sup>  
van Raalte, p. 229.

war or terminate a war without prior consent of the Estates-General.<sup>142</sup>

Of more consequence is the newly established procedure for approval of international agreements by the legislature. Treaties as well as all other international agreements must now be approved (this includes the executive agreement).

Curiously enough, approval of these agreements may be explicit or tacit. Tacit approval is considered to be given if within 30 days no statement has been made on behalf of either of the Chambers or by at least 1/5 of the members of either Chamber expressing the wish to have the agreement submitted to them for approval. If both Chambers decide their approval is not necessary and they do not act, either positively or negatively, consent is assumed to be given.<sup>143</sup> The silent approval possibility is particularly designed to allow scrutiny of all agreements without complete congestion of the approval machinery. Even though the Ministry for Foreign Affairs has been inclined to see silent approval as the customary and preferred procedure and explicit approval as the extraordinary, it should be kept in mind that the 1953 amendments were meant to provide the people's representatives with an extended voice in the field of foreign policy.<sup>144</sup>

The approval requirement has been modified to allow certain categories of international executive agreements which would not need to be

<sup>142</sup>Buck and Travis, p. 585.

<sup>143</sup>Article 61 of the Constitution.

<sup>144</sup>van Raalte, pp. 230-231.

approved. Agreements may be entered into that are exclusively concerned with the execution of an approved agreement (unless Parliament made reservations in this respect). Agreements that do not involve considerable expenditures of money and which do not run longer than one year may also be concluded without review by the two chambers. In exceptional cases of an urgent nature international agreements may be entered into force without delay, leaving it to Parliament to keep it in force or repeal it. The latter action normally should be taken within 30 days, but if this time period would be detrimental to the interests of the country the agreement should be submitted to the Estates-General as soon as possible so that they may terminate the agreement by immediate withholding of approval before any damaging consequences may have resulted.<sup>145</sup>

The Department for Foreign Affairs uses other means to keep legislators informed on foreign affairs. Since 1950 it has published an annual report as well as regular and occasional reports of a more limited nature. Sometimes these reports provoke discussion in the legislature and lead into a fullfledged debate or interpellation.<sup>146</sup>

#### Department for Foreign Affairs

Traditionally the responsibilities for the formulation and administration of foreign affairs have resided in the Department for Foreign Affairs. The organizational pattern of this department shows a rather customary structure. A description or job-analysis for the various or-

---

<sup>145</sup>Buck and Travis, p. 586.

<sup>146</sup>van Raalte, p. 332.

gans within the department is rather superfluous. It seems to be more interesting to check upon the kind of people occupying key positions in the department, and particularly to check upon their background and training. Thus, some pattern might be detected so that future elites in foreign affairs may be found and approached. Of the 81 leading officials in the department and in the directorate-general for political affairs (the geographic offices) 57 or 70% hold law degrees, with 5 additional men having degrees in Indian law (Dutch East-Indian or colonial law), making a total of 62 or 76% having some sort of law degree. Eleven per cent of the sampled officials were trained for colonial administration (indologie). Economists amount to 75% and sociologists (including political sociologists or political scientists) made up 4%. 17% of these sampled officials did not have a university degree.<sup>147</sup>

An important observation may also be made concerning the universities where most of these key officials were trained. The two universities who contributed 70% of this elite are the universities of Leiden and Utrecht, respectively with 40% and 30%. The Municipal University of Amsterdam has graduates amounting to 10% of this group. The Rotterdam School of Economics provided training for 6%, with the (Protestant) Free University of Amsterdam and the Catholic University of Nijmegen each with 2.5%. No generalizations would be warranted with regard to trends as to

---

<sup>147</sup>The sample was selected and the compilations made by Mr. F.D. Boreel of the Overseas Information Directorate, on the basis of his estimate of key personnel in the Department and in particular in the Directorate-General for Political Affairs. Factual information was acquired from the Gids van het Department van Buitenlandse Zaken en de Buitenlandse Dienst, 1959 (The Hague: Staatsdrukkerij, 1959).

what schools persistently have furnished the major share of the key personnel and which universities are improving their placement record. It has been suggested by Mr. Boreel that no major changes seem to be taking place in this pattern. A possible exception may be the increasing influx of economists from the Rotterdam School of Economics and other universities. There is also a possibility that an increasing number of graduates of the Seventh Faculty (Social and Political Sciences) of the Municipal University of Amsterdam may enter the foreign service and the department. However, the latter possibility is yet rather remote since the vested (Leiden and Utrecht) interests in the department are inclined to regard this university and this particular division of social and political science as a hotbed of leftist radicalism.

Although there is no integrated foreign affairs service providing for a formal system of regular rotation in assignments between the home establishment and the overseas posts, there is sufficient interchange to warrant the drawing of certain conclusions from the following information about the department personnel. Tables 16 and 17 report on a check made of the educational background and alma mater of the newest generation of foreign service officers. This check will also serve as a check upon the men who probably have been or will be working in the department. It shows that the universities of Leiden and Utrecht are still preferred by aspirants as well as examiners. It is common knowledge that students planning to enter the foreign service would serve their chances better by enrolling in one of these two schools; in fact, examiners have been known to suggest such a choice of educational insti-

Table 16

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND  
of  
aspirant-ambtenaren and ambtenaren 5de klasse  
admitted to the Dutch foreign service  
1953-1959

Year of Appointment	Total appointments	Law	Col. Govt.	Pol. Sci.	Econ.
1953-1955	29	19	6	1	2
1956	13	9	-	-	1
1957	15	11	-	2	-
1958	14	12	-	-	1
1959*	6	5	-	-	-
1953-1959	77	56(69%)	6(8%)	4(5%)	3(3%)

\*For 1959 there are no admissions listed in the Gids for the rank of 'aspirant ambtenaar'.

Table 17

UNIVERSITIES ATTENDED OR GRADUATED FROM  
of  
aspirant-ambtenaren and ambtenaren 5de klasse  
admitted to the Dutch foreign service  
1953-1959\*

Year of Appointment	Total	Leiden	Utrecht	Mun. A'dam	Gron-ingen	R.C. Univ.	Sch. Econ.
1953-1955	29	15	7	3	4	2	2
1956	13	4	4	1	-	1	1
1957	15	6	2	1	1	2	-
1958	14	5	5	-	-	1	-
1959	6	3	2	-	-	-	-
1953-1959	77	33(43%)	20(26%)	5(7%)	5(7%)	6(8%)	3(4%)

\*It should be kept in mind that many attended more than one university. An increasing number attended American universities and obtained degrees there. The main emphasis here is, however, with the traditional universities.

tution. What has been said about choice of universities may be repeated with regard to the aspiring officer's subject of study, advisedly law.

One observation needs to be made with regard to the social background of leading department and foreign service personnel. Traditionally diplomatic responsibilities were performed by the nobility or the descendants of nobility. When scrutinizing the roster of Dutch ministers for foreign affairs one finds that until World War I the nobility was the sole supplier for this key position's personnel. To a rather surprising extent this pattern of relative predominance by the nobility in the diplomatic practices is persisting today in spite of an almost complete democratization of Dutch society as such. In the period from 1953-1959 still some 42% of the newly admitted diplomats were of noble descent.<sup>148</sup> This seems to re-affirm to a generalized degree the popular saying that one has to be of blue blood or financially well-endowed to be successful in the Dutch foreign service. Leiden traditionally has been the university for the new nobility. Queen Juliana attended there and so are the Princesses Beatrix and Irene today. The Dutch people, it has been observed frequently, seem to accept this diplomatic leadership by the better-bred. They seem to recognize that these people are more adept and accustomed to the pomp and circumstance which is connected with traditional diplomacy. To what degree this sort of arrangement prepares the diplomatic establishment for the new age of diplomacy is hard to say as well as rather academic.

#### Influence of Public Opinion on Foreign Policy

It was established -in the discussion of the policy making

---

<sup>148</sup> Compilations were made from the same listing in the Gids used for Tables 16 and 17.



process- that the directly elected representatives of the Dutch people have a relatively insignificant voice in the foreign affairs of the country. It was suggested that the real day-to-day initiative and responsibility rests with the Department for Foreign Affairs and the cabinet.

From these observations it may be assumed that -as is true in varying degrees in most democratic societies- the public follows the choices and decisions of the decision-makers rather than initiates new ideas or new policies in the area of foreign policy. It seems that only in times of tension or quite direct emotional involvement does the public seem to become vociferous enough to influence the choice of national policy objectives or their means. Such occurrences of tension, however, are minimized as the decision-makers prove themselves to be aware of the limits of stress to which public opinion may be submitted. The decision-makers have made particularly good use of the media of mass communication to lead the opinion(s) of the public, and as such have paved the way for the legislature's approval of some of the most important policy decisions made in the last decades.

In 1949 the Dutch Foreign Minister, Dirk Stikker, rather pointedly directed himself to the problem of the insufficient insight and experience of the Dutch people in the political aspects of international relations. It was Mr. Stikker's contention that the Dutch public had not yet fully understood the consequences of the direct involvement of their country in post-war international politics. The minister expressed sincere doubt in the people's understanding upon these bases:

"Our people, in international affairs, think chiefly in terms of justice and law, and not in terms of politics; and yet they shall have to take these political considerations into account, for if they do not, their picture of the international community will be necessarily false and unrealistic. The Netherlands government during the years of the war in London had, it is true, more direct and intensive contacts with international political problems than ever before; it is equally true that during the occupation of Holland there emerged a significant and keen interest in the issues of foreign policy; but all this was insufficient to prepare the Netherlands people for the extraordinarily difficult position in which they were to find themselves after the war." 149

A statement such as this, made by a Minister for Foreign Affairs, himself the son of a butcher and a man known for his democratic convictions, may be properly accepted as a fair description of the general public's interest and capabilities in foreign affairs.

As the Dutch public is becoming more and more aware that the foreign policy of The Netherlands is almost unalterably linked with that of other countries and their powerful leaders, it also loses interest in its own capability to influence. The post-war switch in Dutch foreign policy has tended to bring about a desire to be informed due to interest rather than from a fiery dedication to do something about it. Many are inclined to credit the media of communication with informing the Dutch public on the irrevocable truths of the condition of post-war Europe and the alternatives open to it. It is also suggested that the realistic and coolheaded Dutch public has seen and made its choice.

#### Media of Mass Communication

In order to establish the means available for the communication

---

<sup>149</sup>Dirk Stikker, Minister for Foreign Affairs, before the Second Chamber on February 4, 1949 (Handelingen der Tweede Kamer, February 4, 1949, p. 1179 f.)

with the target public(s) a description needs to be given of the mass media of communication in The Netherlands. In the preceding pages it has been asserted that the general public in The Netherlands would be distinctly valuable for its backing of the foreign policy decisions made by the government as well as for the cultivation of long range friendship and understanding. It is in the latter sphere that preparation is laid for the attitudes and opinions of the future decision-makers and the public that will follow their decisions. No safe predictions can be made as to who will occupy the leading positions in the government in the distant future; it may, nevertheless, be established with a certain degree of certainty that the democratization of the decision-making process is inevitable. Public information, therefore, remains vital. The instruments of this public information -the mass media- deserve some detailed description.

There are several general observations that may be made. In the first place, the media of mass communication in The Netherlands are highly developed. Secondly, the pillarization of society is carried through into the structure of virtually all media. Thirdly, the media of mass communications have been instrumental in the promotion of a national consciousness, as well as the maintenance of regional and local cultures. Fourthly, the media (as was observed before) have contributed greatly to the education of the public in the realities of the international politics of the post-war era. On the following pages some attention will be given to the newspapers, the periodical press, radio, television and motion pictures in The Netherlands.

## Newspapers

The daily newspaper is distinctly the favorite medium with the mass public. Readership studies have shown that the Dutch average from 30 minutes to a hour daily reading their daily newspaper.<sup>150</sup> Interestingly enough, this time is spent predominantly in the home or at the club. 97% of the circulation goes to regular subscribers at their home by direct delivery. Any evaluation of the relative importance of the press can be made therefore in terms of the development in the number of descriptions. A marked increase in the years since World War II may be noticed from a subscription total of 1.5 million in 1935 (a depression year, by the way) and 2.8 million in 1955. Subscriptions gained by about 87% while the population increased only 27% (from 8.5 million in 1935 to 10.8 million in 1955).

In the second place, the Dutch newspaper press is a family press. In 1955 there were about 2.6 million families in The Netherlands while newspaper subscriptions totaled 2.8 million. In spite of plural subscriptions, it may be said that most families have at least one newspaper at home. Readership of the newspaper extends also to all members of the family. Generally speaking, editorial policy reflects this awareness. There are certain categories of news which are considered taboo by the majority of newspapers, who in general are very responsible. Suicides, for instance, are not reported. Court cases are described

---

<sup>150</sup>Statistical information in this section mostly derived from Maarten Schneider, "Some Aspects of the Netherlands Daily Press", Journalism Quarterly, XXXIV (Winter 1957) pp. 74-76.

only briefly and defendants are mentioned by initials only rather than by full name and address. Even though there are tabloid newspapers that use sensational headlines and/or photographs, newspapers in general are quite conservative in lay-out and presentation. The fact that the press does not primarily depend upon street sales and editorial responsibility toward the family reading circle has made for a certain amount of this conservatism.<sup>151</sup>

A third general observation about the Dutch newspaper press concerns the nature of the leading newspapers. The ratio of so-called opinion papers versus the information papers in The Netherlands reflects again the pillarization which was referred to before. In 1955 it was estimated that 40% of the newspaper subscriptions were with information papers, i.e. with papers without a marked religious or political preference or exhibited inclinations.<sup>152</sup> Of the twelve national dailies there are only three that could directly be identified as primarily information papers. Of the others, the opinion papers, two are Socialist (one official party paper and one independent of the party), three are Roman Catholic, two are inclined to follow the Liberal Party principles, and one rallies the followers of the two Protestant parties, and one is Communist.

The distribution of the opinion papers does not conform fully to the religious division of Dutch society. Protestants find affiliates

---

<sup>151</sup>Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>152</sup>L.F. Tijmstra and Armand Gaspard, "La diffusion des opinions dans la presse - Les exemples hollandais et suisses", Gazette, IV, pp. 165-166.

among 40.8% of the population, while the daily press of Protestant tendencies has a circulation which amounts to only 8.5% of the total daily newspaper circulation. Catholics seem to be more loyal to their opinion press (38.5% of the population listed as affiliated with the Church with a press of about 25.6% of total national circulation).<sup>153</sup>

This observation of relative loyalty is borne out also by figures derived from readership studies made by individual newspapers. For example, the Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant, found in 1957 that 50% of its subscribers were affiliated with either of the two largest Protestant denominations with only 5% of its readers identifying themselves as Roman Catholics.<sup>154</sup>

When comparing party affiliations with opinion press circulation additional evidences of the blurring of the lines of distinction between opinion and information papers come to light. Table 18 shows the relative correlation between the newspaper circulation identifiable with the various political inclinations and the results of the 1952 election. From this it becomes quite clear that the Labour voters particularly do not read their own press.

Polls among the readers of the various opinion papers -and particularly those having political affinities- have shown that their clientele frequently includes people of other party inclinations. A national readership poll of the Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant showed that only 27% of its

<sup>153</sup>Ibid.

<sup>154</sup>Survey conducted for N.R.C. by Nederlandse Stichting voor de Statistiek in July 1957.

Table 18

PILLARIZATION OF THE PRESS  
as compared with  
1952 ELECTION RESULTS<sup>155</sup>

Press pillar	% of circ.	Pol. Parties	% of vote
Roman Catholic	25.6	Cath. P.P.	28.7
		National C.P.	2.7
Protestant	8.5	Anti-Rev. Party	11.3
		Christian H. U.	8.9
		Staatskundig G.P.	2.4
Socialists	18.8	Labour Party	29.0
Liberals	4.9	Liberal Party (V.V.D.)	8.8
Communists	3.0	Communist P.	6.2

subscribers had voted for the Liberal Party, with 20% have gone Labour and 10% having voted for the Catholic parties. All this in spite of the fact that this paper is distinctly identifiable as a Liberal paper.<sup>156</sup>

In spite of these evidences of a rather confusing line of demarcation between the pillarization elements of the press, the opinion press has been gaining in readership and as such seems to be destined to maintain itself a solid readership. In 1936 approximately 50% of the subscriptions to then six national dailies went to information papers, while recently only 23% went to such papers; all this coupled with a proportion-

---

<sup>155</sup>Tijmstra and Gaspard, p. 166. This same phenomenon is also discussed in the leading work on the daily newspaper press, Maarten Rooij, Het economisch-sociaal beeld van het dagbladbedrijf in Nederland (Leiden: Stenfert Kroese, 1956).

<sup>156</sup>Ibid. It should be mentioned that the N.R.C. occupies a peculiar prestige position. Its position is comparable to that of The New York Times, for similar reasons. Therefore, many read the paper in order to be better informed, frequently subscribing to one's party paper at the same time.

ate increase in opinion national dailies' subscriptions.<sup>157</sup> It is true, however, that the number of national opinion dailies has increased sharply since 1936 (there are now eight).

Within the circle of newspaper publishers a certain amount of ownership concentration has occurred. There are currently 65 newspaper publishing concerns, 50 of which are independent enterprises. The other fifteen consist of five mother corporations which have a total of ten affiliates. The total circulation of the newspapers published by the five trusts amounts to 31.9% of the total national circulation. Curiously enough, the concentration of ownership has not affected the total number of papers published. The swallowing up of a competitor's publication means in most cases a continued publication under different publishing and editorial leadership. It is also significant to point out that these publishing trusts do not have a dominant position in the rural areas.<sup>158</sup>

There are twelve daily newspapers that are distributed nationwide on the day of publication; eight of these are evening papers and four are morning editions.<sup>159</sup> Amsterdam and Rotterdam are the cities where these national dailies are published, with nine and three papers respectively located there. The major papers, published in Amsterdam

<sup>157</sup>Ibid., p. 168.

<sup>158</sup>Ibid.

<sup>159</sup>These figures emphasize again the customary reading habits of the average Dutchman, reading the newspaper after supper. By the way, Dutch television does not start till 8:00 p.m.



are:<sup>160</sup>

Het Vrije Volk (The Free People), official daily of the Labour Party, and a postwar continuation of Het Volk (The People), established in 1900. Publishes approximately 30 local editions. Largest daily with about 285,000 circulation.

Het Parool (The Watchword), independent Socialist paper. Post-war continuation of an underground newsheet. Circulation estimated at 150,000.

Algemeen Handelsblad (General Commercial Journal), oldest daily, published since 1830. Liberal Party inclined, with a circulation of about 60,000.

De Volkskrant (The People's Journal), established in 1906, affiliated with the Roman Catholic Workers Movement, with an estimated circulation of 150,000

De Tijd (The Time), the oldest Roman Catholic daily (established in 1846). Circulation of about 50,000

Trouw (Loyal) is not an official party paper, but its chief editor is a member of the legislature for the Anti-Revolutionary Party. Established in 1943 as a royalist underground paper. Circulation estimate: 110,000

De Waarheid (The Truth), official organ of the Communist Party of The Netherlands. Originated also as an underground paper. Circulation is about 80,000

De Telegraaf (The Telegraph), independent information daily, prone to appear sensational, nihilistic and anti-parliamentary. Circulation: about 110,000.

Nieuws van de Dag (Daily News), also independent information morning paper. While Telegraaf appeals to middle class and lower middle class, Nieuws van de Dag caters to lower class. Circulation of about 70,000

The daily newspapers published in Rotterdam are:

De Maasbode (The Messenger of the Meuse), Roman Catholic daily established in 1868. Relatively small circulation of about 35,000 (mainly regional and local).

<sup>160</sup> The following descriptions are mainly based on Schneider, op. cit., pp. 76-77.

Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant (New Rotterdam Journal), a daily since 1843. Even though its circulation is small (50,000 estimated), it is disproportionately influential. A leading Dutch politician once remarked that one could honestly say that the N.R.C. and Het Algemeen Handelsblad have governed the country for years.<sup>161</sup> Known as a Liberal paper. Broad and most authoritative in its coverage.

Algemeen Dagblad (General Daily), a morning information paper, with estimated circulation of about 87,000. Tends to be sensational.

These dailies have a combined circulation of about 1,225,000 which amounts to about 40% of the total newspaper circulation. The remaining 60% of the circulation belongs to about 93 provincial, regional and local daily newspapers, who occupy a most important place in the Dutch press structure.<sup>162</sup> Within this so-called provincial press are found somewhat of the same pillarization characteristics as are seen in the national papers. However, there are some peculiar functions of the local press that stand out: informing on local conditions and events, giving shopping tips, perpetuating the local moral code, and providing a sort of journalistic face-to-face contact between the inhabitants of the community or area. With the consequent high reader density of close to 100% the provincial paper provides a potential of social control frequently unequalled by the national daily.<sup>163</sup>

Some of the provincial papers are quite sizable. About half of

---

<sup>161</sup>Dr. Abraham Kuijper as quoted in De Jong, Onderdaan en Overheid, p. 114.

<sup>162</sup>Schneider, p. 77.

<sup>163</sup>From a speech by H.J. Prakke at the National Conference for Regional Culture at Amersfoort, The Netherlands, on September 19, 1959.

them have subscription totals of 30,000 or more, and only about 5% of them have fewer than 10,000 subscribers.<sup>164</sup>

The most prolific publication of dailies occurs in the central area of the country. This is the area where the larger concentration of population is located. There are seven cities here with populations of 100,000 or more, with Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague each accounting for more than 500,000. In this area 109 papers are published. In fact, in the eleven cities in The Netherlands which have more than 100,000 inhabitants there are 70 papers, while the smaller towns count 93 dailies (while having about 60% of the population.<sup>165</sup> This means that every newspaper reading family -on the day of publication- is able to make a choice between three or four dailies, besides a national morning and/or evening paper.

#### News Services

One of the factors which enabled the provincial press to maintain itself next to the national dailies with the larger news gathering staffs, is the press service, and particularly the Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau (General Netherlands Press Bureau).<sup>166</sup> This press service is legally organized as a foundation, operating independently of interests, groups and political parties. It is not a government press service. Its financial support comes solely from fees charged to newspapers and

---

<sup>164</sup> Schneider, p. 77.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

<sup>166</sup> For an extensive discussion of this news service see Rooij, p. 405ff.

private subscribers. The official objectives of the Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau are: the maintenance of a completely neutral and independent bureau for the purpose of distributing to the Dutch press and others national and international news; the gathering, preparing and reading of radio newscasts,<sup>167</sup> and the promoting of good reporting about The Netherlands and Dutch interests.

The organization which was established in 1934, divides its membership into three categories: publishers of national dailies, publishers of regional papers, and publishers of purely local papers (daily or less frequent). Each category has two representatives on the Governing Board with a seventh member appointed by the Executive Board of the Netherlands Daily Press Association, the paternal organization.

While the national agency dominates the market other agencies have equal rights and privileges.<sup>168</sup> Agence-France Presse, Reuters (British), United Press International and Associated Press are but a few of the other agencies supplying Dutch subscribers with their news services.

The American agencies cable their material from New York to their world desk in London. From here a selection is made for release in Europe which is then distributed to subscribers directly (where no national office is available) or to the Associated Press or United Press International Office in Amsterdam. Final processing occurs here in the form

---

<sup>167</sup>More about this at a later point in this chapter.

<sup>168</sup>United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, News Agencies, their Structure and Operation (Paris: UNESCO, 1953), p. 30.

of editing for local need and translating.<sup>169</sup> A leading Dutch editor suggested that much is lost in the processing. He therefore preferred the Reuters European Service which is all-European in design and from which each subscriber may extract what he wants.<sup>170</sup>

The A.N.P. (General Netherlands Press Bureau) bases most of its foreign news on the European Service of Reuters, which is also rated to be more extensive, to give more complete coverage of official documents, press conferences, etc. The remaining 50% of the national agency's foreign news originates from French, Indonesian, German and other European agencies and the agency's own correspondents overseas. It is interesting to note that representatives of Reuters, Agence-France Presse, Agence Belga and German agencies have offices on the premises of the Dutch agency.<sup>171</sup>

Many of the newspaper editors in The Netherlands who work with agencies other than the national agency seem to use Reuters exclusively also. Rooij suggested that the American services might be used to supplement Reuters (but this isn't necessarily done frequently) or when a news item concerns a matter vital to Great Britain. In the latter circumstances the British agency has occasionally reflected pre-release consultation with the British Foreign office on certain stories.<sup>172</sup>

<sup>169</sup>Ibid. , p. 48.

<sup>170</sup>Dr. Maarten Rooij, professor of journalism at Municipal university of Amsterdam, former chief editor of Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant in a personal interview.

<sup>171</sup>News Agencies, p. 113.

<sup>172</sup>Rooij interview.

The major papers and many of the smaller papers -in a cooperative venture- are inclined to find story material or possibilities for stories in Associated Press and/or United Press International releases, and then have their own correspondents send in an article (or series) on the subject. Many of these correspondents are Dutch, full-timers and part-timers. By this method the Dutch papers try to insure themselves against nationalistic or tendentious coverage of the news. The latter criticism is heard rather frequently in Europe. A news editor of the Paris-Presse stated:

"Distaste of European editors for American news agencies material in particular...is apparent to their charges that news agency copy is too nationalistic or tendentious in character, and therefore not convincing to an international audience. The distributed services are quite exclusively devoted to politics, and they give the impression of being directed very much to Americans living in Europe rather than to Europeans themselves."<sup>173</sup>

Table 19 shows what sort of news about the United States is being distributed by the news services most frequently used in The Netherlands. It is apparent from these figures that disproportionately little interest is paid to the kind of news that builds long range friendship and understanding. The emphasis of the news services has traditionally been and is today on spot news. In fact, the Netherlands News Agency (Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau) rates very low in its coverage of educational, scientific and technological, religious, social and judicial and legislative news from America. Only a French national agency for the provincial press gave lower percentage in this area of news about the

---

<sup>173</sup>

Quoted in International Press Institute survey Improvement of Information (Zurich: International Press Institute, 1952), p. 25.

United States. The next closest were a Swiss agency with 5.3% and the Belgium agency with 5.9% (Dutch agency was 3.9%). It is particularly striking that in the survey period no cultural news about the United States was included at all on the wire services of the Dutch agency.

Table 19

UNITED STATES NEWS  
on the trunk wires of  
five global news agencies<sup>174</sup>  
and  
Netherlands News Agency (A.N.P.)

<u>Subject</u>	<u>Reuters</u>	<u>A.P.</u>	<u>U.P.</u>	<u>I.N.S.</u>	<u>A.F.P.</u>	<u>A.N.P.</u>
Politics	30.5	29.6	32.4	26.3	34.5	27.4
For. Relations	17.8	22.7	20.2	26.1	29.4	28.5
Economics	20.7	6.0	8.6	12.9	6.2	12.5
Defense	4.5	4.5	4.2	6.5	6.1	8.2
War	.9	.7	1.8	3.0	1.6	.4
Total	74.4	63.5	67.2	74.8	77.8	77.0
Human Interest	5.8	11.1	7.9	6.0	4.9	3.2
Disaster	5.8	6.0	7.6	2.4	3.1	6.4
Crime	4.2	4.2	5.3	2.9	1.6	4.6
Sports	2.3	6.6	4.8	1.9	6.2	4.9
Total	18.1	27.9	25.6	13.2	15.8	19.1
Cultural	1.4	2.3	1.4	.9	.7	-
Ed, Sc. Tech	2.3	1.7	2.7	4.4	3.6	2.2
Soc. Measures	.7	.2	.1	.5	.3	.2
Jud & Legisl,	2.6	4.0	2.7	5.4	1.7	1.3
Religion	.5	.4	.3	.8	.1	.2
Total	7.5	8.6	7.2	12.0	6.4	3.9

Also noteworthy is the high percentage of the Associated and United Press news given to subjects such as human interest, disaster,

---

<sup>174</sup>International Press Institute, Flow of the News (Zurich: International Press Institute, 1953) p. 252.

<sup>175</sup>Ibid., p. 253.

crime and sports. This tends to support one of the objections to the presentation of news agency copy as reported by the International Press Institute.<sup>176</sup> News editors frequently complained about the tendency of news agency copy to sensationalize in an effort to outdo their rivals. This seems to be necessity with a commercial agency which seeks to appeal to the rather mediocre taste of the general public.

Another criticism which is rather significant for the purposes of this study is that the news agencies -according to the news editors- do not supply enough background and interpretation of their news reports. The American agencies even offer sports news free to subscribers of their regular news service but charge extra for background materials.<sup>177</sup>

It might also be interesting to note that the news about the United States makes up -relatively speaking- a rather small percentage of the Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau foreign news. The International Press Institute showed how the Dutch agency has 11.6% of its total foreign news devoted to news from and about the United States, which was the lowest percentage compared with the five major worldwide agencies. Associated Press had 20.5% and United Press 18.9%.<sup>178</sup> A more favorable conclusion may be reached when it concerns the volume of United States news in some sample newspapers. The International Press Institute shows how an unidentified Dutch "quality" paper carried 20.9%

<sup>176</sup>Improvement of Information, p. 20.

<sup>177</sup>The relatively high cost of transmitting material per transatlantic cable has something to do with this.

<sup>178</sup>Flow of the News, p. 251.



of its total foreign news about the United States; another unidentified "high circulation paper" rated 23% and an unidentified "low circulation paper" had 14.7%.<sup>179</sup> It is obvious that these newspapers must have availed themselves of other sources besides the material supplied them by the Dutch agency.

The basic question still remains as to how the Dutch press ties in with the short range targets of the United States Information Service: the political elite. Prakke found that the current political elite of The Netherlands ascribe to the press primarily an informative and orientative function.<sup>180</sup> The Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant was found to be the paper preferred by politicians of all convictions to perform this function. The press of the politician's own group or party serves as the medium of contact and orientation with his own group. Prakke was quite prone to point out that political beliefs and insights with the elite studied has been acquired charismatically rather than rationally, and as such the press did not fulfill a converting function.<sup>181</sup> It is nevertheless true that the press of the radically opposed group has at times led to changes in social convictions against hereditary expectations. Such influence was particularly recognized to be more probable through day-to-day exposure to a "one-man-paper" - i.e. a newspaper published and edited by one personality, thus reflecting this one line of opinion rather clearly

<sup>179</sup>Ibid., p. 254.

<sup>180</sup>H.J. Prakke, Pers en politieke elite (Assen: van Gorcum, 1954), p.74.

<sup>181</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

and definitely.<sup>182</sup>

### Periodicals

The importance of the Dutch periodical press needs to be properly recognized also before any evaluation of preferred communication media can be made. In 1949 a survey conducted by the Netherlands Periodical Proprietors' Association revealed some interesting facts emphasizing the periodical's importance. This report listed seventeen opinion periodicals (sixteen of which appear weekly and one monthly), twenty family periodicals (fifteen are weeklies, two bi-monthlies and three monthlies) and twenty women's magazines (three weeklies, eight bi-monthlies and nine monthlies). Table 20 shows how these three categories are dis-

Table 20

#### PERIODICAL SUBSCRIBERS by geographical regions<sup>183</sup>

Provinces	Opinion papers	Family papers	Women's papers	All mass mag.	Total pop- ulation
Groningen	4.6	6.6	4.8	5.5	4.9
Friesland	3.3	5.8	4.6	4.9	5.0
Drenthe	2.0	3.0	2.7	2.7	2.7
Overijssel	5.6	6.8	5.6	6.1	6.7
Geldereren	9.9	11.6	8.7	10.0	10.6
Utrecht	6.8	6.2	6.5	6.4	5.7
North Holland	23.3	17.7	25.5	22.0	19.4
South Holland	26.2	24.1	25.4	25.0	24.6
Zeeland	2.0	3.1	2.6	2.7	2.9
North Brabant	12.4	9.9	8.3	9.6	11.2
Limburg	3.9	5.2	5.3	5.1	6.3

<sup>182</sup>Some Facts and Figures on the Dutch Periodical Press (The Hague: Netherlands Periodical Proprietors' Association, 1949)

<sup>183</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

tributed (by subscription) in comparison with the total subscriptions of all mass magazines and population distribution over the eleven provinces. The two Holland provinces cover over half of the opinion paper and women's paper subscriptions, while the rural provinces show relatively large subscription rates for the family magazines.

Within the ranks of the opinion periodicals the market is almost exclusively controlled by the weeklies. These weeklies generally contain four major sections: political editorials and background articles, cultural articles, art sections, and women's page or section. Within this format the opinion weekly -as well as the family and women's weekly- provides the explanation and entertainment which is brought to American readers through the Sunday supplement or edition of their daily newspaper. The most important weeklies include Elsevier's Weekblad (Elsevier's Weekly), Liberal, with 125,000 subscribers; Haagse Post (The Hague Post), commercial, with 23,000 circulation; De Groene Amsterdammer (The Green Amsterdammer), radical progressive with 30,000 subscribers, and Vrij Nederland (Free Netherlands), Socialist weekly with about 30,000 subscribers. The Haagse Post and Groene Amsterdammer existed before the second world war, with the former being the leading political opinion weekly (reaching occasionally a circulation of 50,000). Elseviers was established after the war on a scale and format never before attempted, thus particularly appealing to the well-to-do and the middle class public. If any political label is warranted for this weekly it should be called Liberal, even though it calls itself neutral. Vrij Nederland is the post-war continuation and elaboration of a resistance publication..

Alongside these mass periodicals there appear two other opinion weeklies primarily with religious inclinations. De Linie is a Roman Catholic weekly with a circulation of about 44,000 and de Hervormde Kerk, as the name implies, is the house organ of the Dutch Reformed Church. Circulation of the latter is estimated at 77,000 copies.<sup>184</sup> These confessional weeklies are not inclined to expound upon the news or upon politics; that task is left almost exclusively to the first group of opinion weeklies. The church weeklies, nevertheless, offer great potential for the building of long range friendship and understanding, particularly in regard to the religious life of the American people (a possible identification of common purpose between the two peoples).

Opinion weeklies find their subscribers generally among the intellectuals, business men and executive employees, with well-to-do and middle-class socio-economic standing. This is somewhat in contrast to the readership of women and family magazines. The larger share of their readers were in the middle class and less well-to-do categories.

Women's magazines have been particularly flourishing since 1945. Just prior to the German occupation the most important women's magazines had a circulation of approximately 250,000, while the 1949 circulation of the two largest magazines amounted to more than a million readers. Libelle-Beatrijs had 675,000 and Margriet counted 560,000 subscribers in 1949. The illustrated family weeklies, which tend to be partially educational and partially recreational also enjoy fairly extensive

---

<sup>184</sup> Facts and figures were obtained from C.W.C.L. Bradenburg, "The Place of the Weekly Press in Dutch Advertising", World Press News, XLV (March 23, 1951), pp. i, ii and vii.

distribution. The two largest, the neutral Panorama and the Katholieke Illustratie has a combined subscription total of 450,000, with the neutral De Week in Beeld (The Week in Pictures) and the Roman Catholic Zuid (South) have a combined circulation of about 120,000.

Some interesting observations have been made and could be made about the influence of the women's and family magazines upon the society's morals and mores. The concern of the mother and woman in general with the rearing and educating of the children of the community is met somewhat by the materials in these magazines. The social code which is passed on and subtly changed by these journals forms again the basis for future social and political action. The use of illustrations and the general lay-out format of these magazines certainly facilitate the sort of visual and emotional identification which results on a rather lasting imprint upon opinion and attitude of the reader.<sup>185</sup>

When mentioning specific categories of periodical publications as feasible vehicles some recognition should also be given to publications for even more limited audiences. Of great significance, for instance, are the publications of the avant-garde. These "periodicals" serve an important function as channels for the uttering and publicizing of philosophies or programs that might quite well turn up to be the philosophies or programs of future leadership.<sup>186</sup> As such these may well be the pre-

---

<sup>185</sup>G.W. Ovink, Familieblanden als zedevormers (The Hague: Netherlands Periodicals Proprietors's Association, 1959), pp. 12-13.

<sup>186</sup>H.J. Prakke, De groepskrantjes der opkomende voorhoede (Assen: van Gorcum, 1956).

ferred vehicle to reach the elite of the future.

### Radio

The way in which the radio broadcasting industry is organized in The Netherlands is unusual. There is neither purely commercial nor completely state-owned and operated radio. The state owns two transmitters for the two wave-lengths allotted to The Netherlands under the Copenhagen agreement. These two stations' broadcasting time (from 6:00 a.m. to about midnight) is apportioned by law among five private listener societies. Time is apportioned in correlation to size of membership of these societies; thus the major share of the broadcasting time is awarded to the big four societies: Katholieke Radio Omroep (Catholic Radio Broadcasting); Vereniging van Arbeiders Radio Amateurs (Association of Laborers Radio Amateurs), socialist; Algemene Vereniging voor Radio Omroep (General Radio Broadcasting Association), neutral; and the Nederlandse Christelijke Radio Vereniging (Netherlands Christian Radio Association) of orthodox Protestant leaning. The Vrijzinnig Protestantse Radio Omroep (Freethinking Protestant Radio Broadcasting) is of lesser size and thus finds itself with less broadcasting time.<sup>187</sup>

Radio listeners are by law required to pay listening tax for each radio set registered. This tax which amounts to about \$3.20 per year and the receipts of the listener societies (obtained through the sale of program magazines and subscription fees) provide the operating income for the radio broadcasting system. Curiously enough only 55%

---

<sup>187</sup>Jan de Boer and Phil Cameron, "Dutch Radio: The Third Way", Journalism Quarterly, XXXII (Winter 1955), pp. 62-70.

of the listeners by the societies' program guides and may thus be identified as probable and/or possible members of the respective society.<sup>188</sup>

The question thus arises: why is the pillarization of the radio industry maintained and why is broadcasting time divided basically upon the membership basis only? A poll conducted shortly after the war revealed that 65% of the respondents favored a national broadcasting corporation (presumably along the line of the British Broadcasting Corporation).

Only the Orthodox Dutch Reformed element opposed the proposal with a majority.<sup>189</sup> Attempts were made also to bring about a joint program, but again the same element balked, joined this time by the Catholic group. Consequently, there was established the Nederlandse Radio Unie (Netherlands Radio Union). This supposed compromise between a national system and a loose federation of existing listener societies operates the technical departments of the stations. Studio facilities have been pooled and engineers, musicians, and actors, whose services are used by all groups are hired by the radio union (N.R.U.).<sup>190</sup> For all practical purposes, however, the pillarization continues in the programming and each society's program is assumed to be propagandistic in nature. Curiously enough, since broadcasting time can only be increased by the acquisition of additional membership of the societies, the real competition between the groups is not along ideological lines. The 45% un-

---

<sup>188</sup>Jan Reinders, "De radio in Nederland", Gemenebest XIII (March 1953), p. 207.

<sup>189</sup>Ibid.

<sup>190</sup>De Boer and Cameron, p. 66.

affiliated radio listeners are lured by popular programming, through pure entertainment rather than competition based upon the society's reason for existence: its religious ideas or political principles.

Even though the system thus appears rather illogical and distinctly unattractive to a large number of listeners, one may well expect it to continue as long as pillarization persists in other, particularly the political, spheres of Dutch society. A 1953 draft law seeking to solve the perpetual problems of Dutch radio endorsed the pillar system, and even seemed to create additional possibilities for division of time.<sup>191</sup>

There are certain handicaps that result from the sort of set-up under which Dutch radio broadcasters operate. Since the Dutch universities do not offer any work in radio there are but a few people working in the medium with formal education in the field. Secondly, it is extremely difficult to find mobility since each organization seems to prefer personnel that agrees with their particular religious or political principles. Thus, it is almost impossible to gain on the job experience and to move upward toward better opportunities. Thirdly, opportunities for women in the field of radio work are severely limited.<sup>192</sup>

Alongside the regular broadcasting carried on through wireless transmitters and receivers, The Netherlands also has a state-owned system of so-called "radio distribution". This is a relay service to which one may subscribe for a nominal monthly fee. Through the use of the government owned and operated telephone system an assorted program

<sup>191</sup>Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>192</sup>Ibid., p. 66.



is piped into the homes of the subscribers, of which there are about 500,000. The transmitted programs are composed of selections from the regular domestic programs and a selection of programs from other European radio stations (which can normally be received by a regular receiving set). Combined coverage of regular receiving sets and radio distribution subscribers go to about 90% of the Dutch homes.<sup>193</sup>

The programming of the Dutch radio societies presents an interesting phenomenon. When comparing program distribution in different countries it becomes immediately evident that spoken word broadcasts occupy a very important place (time-wise). Also more serious and less light music is broadcasted in The Netherlands than in many countries, such as England, West-Germany and the United States (except for the Third Program of the British Broadcasting Corporation, also Great Britain).

Table 21 gives a comparison between program distribution in The Netherlands and the United States. It shows how particularly in the area of radio plays the now defunct American soap opera seems to distort the schedule, and also how news commentators (who are rare in The Netherlands) distort a fair comparison of news broadcasting time.

It is not surprising that in the category of spoken word programs sports and current events programs enjoy a higher measure of interest than political lectures, government broadcasts and discussion programs. In fact the largest audience is enjoyed by the Algemeen Neder-

---

<sup>193</sup> Charles A. Siepmann, Radio, Television and Society (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950) p. 372.

lands Persbureau (General Netherlands News Bureau - the national press agency) news broadcasts. In the fore-quoted 1954 survey it was found

Table 21

PROGRAM DISTRIBUTION COMPARISON  
between Dutch and American  
radio broadcasting  
organization. 194

<u>Nature of Program</u>	<u>Netherlands</u> (1953)	<u>United States</u> (1946)
Serious music	21%	8%
Light music	27	35
Variety	5	7
Spoken word	27	7
News	7	13
Radio plays	4	16
Religious broadcasts	8	6
Others	2	10

that these newscasts enjoyed an audience of about one and a third million listeners.<sup>195</sup> This newscast audience is only surpassed by the audience of the big variety shows, which are listed as having as many as two and three quarters of a million listeners.<sup>196</sup> From these and other findings of this government sponsored survey, it appears that the radio public recognizes a certain informational and educational mission with the medium. Generally, however, the audience is inclined to list entertainment as its primary purpose.

The audience of the radio is generally identified as being com-

---

<sup>194</sup>Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, Radio en Vrije-Tijds Besteding (Zeist: W. de Haan, 1954), p. 17.

<sup>195</sup>Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>196</sup>Ibid.

posed mainly of the less-educated, the less well-to-do and women. The survey bears out that fact.

The importance of radio newscasts can not be exaggerated. In modern industrial society a hurried life seems to presuppose that radio news is the best and quickest way to become informed on the affairs of the day. The semi-official appearance of the national news agency newscasts create an even greater than normal tendency to consider these newscasts more trustworthy than the news presentations in the newspapers.<sup>197</sup>

The news broadcasts are prepared and read by a section of the national news agency under a 1950 contract. This agreement was concluded between the Nederlandse Radio Unie (the supervisory organ of the radio system) and the Nederlandse Dagblad Pers (The Daily Newspaper Publishers Association).<sup>198</sup> Curiously enough, the national agency's contract forbids the radio broadcasting organizations to enter into contracts with competing news agencies (domestic and foreign). This seems to leave a considerable amount of control over the radio newscasts and their content with the national news agency which is basically sponsored by the daily paper publishers. It was only a few years ago that the official agency controlling radio (N.R.U.) acquired a vote in the executive councils of the national news agency.<sup>199</sup>

<sup>197</sup>K. van dijk, Radio en volksontwikkeling (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1953), p. 85.

<sup>198</sup>Rooij, p. 411.

<sup>199</sup>Rooij interview. Professor Rooij also pointed out that the broadcasting organizations are opposing the expansion of radio time devoted to newscasts.

### Television

Development of television in The Netherlands originated with Phillips, Ltd., an electronics manufacturer, and was then combined with the efforts of the existing radio broadcasting organizations. In 1951 the government granted an operating license to the Nederlandse Televisie Stichting (Netherlands Television Foundation). Programming started with one and a half hour of broadcasting per week. By leaps and bounds broadcasting time has been expanded to fifteen hours a week, with a portion of this time taken up by relays from foreign television networks. Initially these exchanges began with an agreement between the Dutch system and the Belgian National Broadcasting Institute. It has now grown to a system identified as Eurovision with ever expanded programming. All sorts of broadcasts are being relayed now. In the fall of 1959, for instance, there were the reports on President Eisenhower's tour of the European capitals, a special concert by the New York Philharmonic with Leonard Bernstein, the Eisenhower-Macmillan conversation, European track and field championship meet and many other events. In most of these broadcasts the common picture is commented on by announcers and commentators speaking the various languages in use in the broadcasting area, which each area only receiving commentary in its own language. A tremendous potential lies with this Eurovision system.

Broadcasting time of Dutch television is now divided among the Nederlandse Televisie Stichting (the supervisory organ) and the five radio listeners societies. The N.T.S. prepares and presents the daily (workdays) newscasts and uses one night to present a movie and other

non-live material. The broadcasting organizations have television time apportioned among themselves along the formula employed for the division of radio time.

One thing stands out rather quickly when reviewing this medium and its relative position in Dutch communications; -its rapid expansion.. When in 1956 a law was passed requiring registration of all television sets and payment of about \$9.50 per year in listener tax, only 26,627 sets were registered. At that time it was supposed that the number of sets in operation would increase quickly. However, even those predictions have been proven too low.<sup>200</sup> In the mid-summer of 1959 there were registered 500,000 television sets, which means that by then there was a television set in one out of every five homes. The great majority of these sets are located in the Western half of the country (the urban area) with a particularly large percentage of these owners being elderly people without children. The partial cause for this is the rather high purchase price of the sets and the relatively high viewer's tax. There is also a greater degree of ownership of television among non-church-going than among the more Orthodox Protestant church-goers.<sup>201</sup>

Traditionally the time payment purchase plan has been highly discredited by the average Dutchman. One of the items, however, which is bringing in a large amount of time purchase business today is the television set. Increasingly, the lower income and less-educated

---

<sup>200</sup>Even the television-manufacturing industry was drastically low in its estimates. In 1949 they expected to have sold about 200,000 sets by 1955 which would mean that the market would be saturated from some time to come...(sic)

<sup>201</sup>Volkskrant, June 13, 1959.

families in the urban industrial area are beginning to employ the credit arrangement to enjoy this latest medium. Television -as it has done and is doing in the United States- is particularly attractive to the visual thinker, and curiously enough, it fits quite well into the traditional evening-time at home.

The taste of the television audience corresponds roughly with that exhibited with regard to radio. Variety shows and movies draw a rather sizable audience. Same is relatively true of quiz shows. The biggest consistent audience is drawn, however, by the N.T.S. Journaal (the news program presented by the Nederlandse Televisie Stichting). This program is basically built along the format of the newsreel. The only difference is that more daily freshness is maintained than with the movie theatre newsreel which runs for a week. Lack of funds have straightjacketed the editors of the program to a considerable extent. A small staff and limited equipment makes simultaneous coverage and broadcasts almost impossible. Some outstanding work has been achieved in spite of these rather heavy odds. Coverage of presidential press conferences, the Nixon-Khrushchev exchange at the American exposition in Moscow, United States space achievements, and other forms of reporting on America and its foreign policy are regularly included.

There is increasing discussion in The Netherlands concerning the possibility of commercial television instead of the current pillarization mainly based upon government taxation and appropriation. This might occur either in the form of a second channel or through the complete overhaul of the existing system. The promise of better programs through bigger budgets proves to be very alluring to public and legislators. Today

many television viewers already watch Belgian and German programs that are sponsored by commercial interests, and it seems that these viewers do not have any objections against such commercial television.

With the coming of commercial television the placing of USIS materials may become very difficult. The information service has proven to be a good provider for the low-budget television program director. When commercial television takes over, the assumption may quite well be that the basic determination of what programs will be broadcast and when, will lie with the public taste because that's where the purchasing power resides. The sort of documentary materials available from the information service may then well become unattractive, unless, of course, some American companies find a good opportunity here to do some institutional advertising with a yet relatively captive audience (the new hasn't worn off yet for most viewers).

The trend of slow disappearance of pillarization in television programming which is already obvious today will even speed up when commercial television comes about.

#### Motion Pictures

The motion pictures have been an important entertainment medium for many years. With the urbanization of the country and the ever increasing need for leisure time activities, motion picture theatres have proven to be a real haven. The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization reported that, for instance, in 1952 annual attendance amounted to 6.1 per inhabitant (in the United States it was

reported to be 7.5).<sup>202</sup> This is a rather high attendance average when it is compared with the number of movie theatre seats available in the two countries. In 1955 The Netherlands had an estimated population of about ten million inhabitants with 522 movie theatres with a total seating capacity of 243,000 or 23 per 1,000 inhabitants. Indoor capacity in the United States was 55 per 1,000.<sup>203</sup>

In spite of the great popularity of spectator sports, such as soccer, the movie theatre accounted for 58% of the admission tickets sold by recreational institutions in the year 1954. In urban centers, such as Amsterdam, Endhoven, The Hague, Utrecht and Rotterdam the percentage was much higher, with respectively 72, 68, 66, 63 and 60%. The same is also true in regard to the average visits per inhabitant per year. While the national average was shown to be 6, in Amsterdam it is as high as 15, in The Hague 12 and 9 in Rotterdam.<sup>204</sup>

As is true elsewhere the younger people attend the movies much more than adults and older persons. Those younger than 21 attended 16 times per year on the average, while adults -on the average- attended a little over five times. And among the young people there is a drastic difference in attendance between those who attend secondary school and those who do not (respectively 15 times and at least 55 times per year). In fact in the latter category 37% attended at least twice a week.<sup>205</sup>

---

<sup>202</sup>United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, Film and Cinema Statistics - A Preliminary Report(Paris: UNESCO), p, 74

<sup>203</sup>Ibid., p. 74.

<sup>204</sup>H.J. van Zutphen, "Sociologie van de film": Gereformeerd Sociologisch Instituut Nieuws, III, p. 4.

<sup>205</sup>Ibid., p. 6.



In the leisure time survey -referred to above- it became clear that the female element of the so-called leader-group<sup>206</sup> spends a lot of time at the motion picture theatre as well as attending stage plays. The survey found that these women attend the movies 12.5 times per year.<sup>207</sup> The movies may therefore not just be considered solely as a medium to reach the general public and particularly the not so highly educated and less well-to-do elements of that public. The motion pictures could be most profitable for the improvement of understanding between the Dutch and American people, as well as possible motivator for relevant political action, a shorter range objective of the information program.

The audience-preferences for the various types of pictures available for import from America does not leave too much room for the painting of a realistic or sympathetic picture of America and the American people. Metro-Goldwyn people found that the Dutch have a rather peculiar preference. First preference were action pictures, such as westerns, war pictures, swashbuckling spectacles and outdoor adventures. Then came drama, musicals, slapstick, comedy and mystery shows.<sup>208</sup> With movie makers depending for as high as 55% of their sales on foreign markets preferences such as these become much more important than a true pictorialization of

---

<sup>206</sup>This 'leader-group' is composed of people with academic training, of professional status, or managerial position.

<sup>207</sup>Radio en vrije-tijds besteding, p. 78.

<sup>208</sup>Ronald Carroll, "Selecting Motion Pictures for the Foreign Market", Journal of Marketing, XVII (October 1952), pp. 162-171.

America and its people.<sup>209</sup> The Motion Picture Association of America readily admits that it has virtually no way of controlling the export of movies. The members of the association are guided and assisted by the Association's Selectivity Department which reviews all films contemplated for export and then advises as to their suitability for export to certain countries. Two members of this committee work in Hollywood studying scripts before and during production and seek thereby to eliminate objectionable elements from a picture. To what degree this committee has been successful and how frequently they have been able to prevent the export of a 'detrimental' picture is hard to tell.<sup>210</sup> From the pictures shown overseas and the distorted picture these movies leave with their viewers, sincere questions arise concerning the committee's effectiveness.

It might be interesting to note that, in spite of the so-called open market in Holland for movies from all countries, there is a statutory regulation that each theatre must show non-United States films for at least twelve weeks during the year.<sup>211</sup> Nevertheless, American movies amounted to a sizable percentage (42.56%) of the movies shown in Dutch movie theatres during the year 1958. What is more significant, however, is that this share had been declining sharply since 1956 (from 52.2%).<sup>212</sup>

---

<sup>209</sup>Leo C. Rosten, "Movies and Propaganda", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCLIV (November 1947), p. 121.

<sup>210</sup>C.D. Jackson describes this procedure in Markel, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy, pp. 189-190.

<sup>211</sup>Film and Cinema Statistics, loc. cit.

<sup>212</sup>Netherlands Movie Theatre Association, Annual Report for 1958, p. 43.

The movie program in the theatres in The Netherlands includes the traditional newsreels. The reels which are shown in the Dutch theatres basically come from four sources. News about The Netherlands (which occasionally may include items reflecting upon the United States) is presented in Polygoon Neerlands Nieuws or the competitor Spiegel van Nederland (Mirror of The Netherlands). For world news there are available three major editions: Polygoon Wereld Nieuws, a Dutch production; The World from Week to Week, a British product; and Fox Movietone, made in the United States. These three respectively print 58, 50 and 24 copies for each issue, an approximate indication of their popularity.<sup>213</sup> The reason for the relative unpopularity of the American newsreel is the poor editing and the rather poor translating and commentary. This is done in Paris, rather than in Holland, by a man who has been away from the country for many years.

There is little opportunity for placing materials with these commercial newsreel producers because most of them work with commercial suppliers or with their own cameramen and organization. The commercial angle -just as was the case with the wire services and the feature films- tends to put a premium on human interest and sensational content. As such the picture painted in the newsreels about the United States is not only hampered by the flash presentation with inadequate explanation but also by a poor choice of subject matter.

---

<sup>213</sup> Peter Baechlin and Maurice Muller-Strauss, Newsreels Across the World (Paris: UNESCO, 1952).

## Conclusions

This description of the mass media within the social, economic and political structure of the country does not necessarily mean to imply that these media are the final and conclusive answer to the problems of the United States Information Service in The Netherlands. As Klapper so aptly pointed out, there are a great variety of factors and influences which condition the effectiveness of mass media.<sup>214</sup> The predispositions of the receiving audience, the structure of opinion leadership within that audience, the nature of mass communication in the society, and the presence or lack of a monopolistic propaganda agency, are but a few of the factors and influences.<sup>215</sup> Their composite, according to Klapper, frequently causes a reinforcement of existing factors and influences, and thus mass media will be able to bring about change in opinions and attitudes in only two sets of circumstances. In the first place, when a change was already destined to take place, regardless of the efforts and intents of the communicators. Secondly, when the existing pattern of factors and influences has no bearing upon new issues presented. In the latter case these new issues may be described as reaching virgin soil.

In conclusion, it may be said that the mass media are an integral part of the communication structure. It should be sufficiently

---

<sup>214</sup>Joseph T. Klapper, "What We Know About the Effects of Mass Communication", Public Opinion Quarterly, XXI (Winter 1957-1958), pp. 457-458.

<sup>215</sup>Ibid., pp. 459-461.

obvious though that personal influence and word-of-mouth communication have their relative significance. Both media are useful for either short range or long range objectives. The choice of what medium will be employed will have to be matched up with the desired end and the means available toward that end.

## CHAPTER V

### LONG RANGE EFFECTS

Before any evaluation can be made of the effects and effectiveness of the American communication effort in The Netherlands, some clarification must be given to the basic assumptions under which such an evaluation is carried out. In the first place, it is assumed that information policy makers have set objectives which they desire to achieve through the communication program. Secondly, this assumption will allow us to compare the effects of the information program with the desired objectives, so that some determination may be made of effectiveness. Thirdly, when effects are observed that are either a negative version of the positive objective or were never expected to occur, it will be assumed that the communication effort was falling short or completely ineffective.<sup>216</sup>

It must also be understood that the earlier division of communication policy objectives into long range and short range objectives necessitates a similar division in the evaluation of effects and effectiveness. When it is said, therefore, that the short range effectiveness is high, it may be assumed that, for example, the desired relevant political action has occurred. In the same way, long range effectiveness may lead to the assumption that the Dutch people have a great and unshakable friendship and understanding for the United States

---

<sup>216</sup>A certain element of luck could, of course, bring an unexpected result that was even more beneficial than logically could have been expected.

and the American people.<sup>217</sup>

The evaluator needs also to appreciate the position of the United States Information Service in Dutch society. Since the USIS does not have a monopoly in providing the Dutch people with information about the United States, giving the USIS credit for attitudes and opinions existing among the Dutch would be very unrealistic. It seems therefore best to proceed by selecting the communication objectives of the information program, to see to what extent they have been achieved, and then to seek to determine how these achievements may be credited to the American communicators. This approach is particularly imperative in situations such as prevail in The Netherlands where the mass media are well developed and where the news and information obtained by the Dutch people comes from a great variety of sources.

The evaluation of long range objectives presents its own peculiar difficulties. There arises the immediate problem, for instance, of measuring abstractions such as "a better understanding" and "a favorable climate of opinion".<sup>218</sup> It is hereby suggested that these two concepts may be measured through an investigation of the image the Dutch people (and decision-makers) have of the American people and their government. Such a measurement would allow a comparison between the content of the image and the generally agreed upon characteristics of the American people and government. Compatibility between these two factors may well

---

<sup>217</sup>This chapter concerns itself with long range effectiveness, while Chapter VI deals with short range accomplishments.

<sup>218</sup>The realistic interpretation and importance of long range objectives such as these was discussed in Chapter II.

lead to the conclusion that continuous understanding between the two peoples is highly probable. This is particularly true when it can be shown that the interests of the Dutch and the American people are highly compatible.

However, as suggested earlier, such maximum compatibility may not exist. It is commonly agreed, however, that democratic peoples everywhere, and certainly peoples with such similar cultures, have certain basic compatible interests. Such peoples would have common interest in survival, security, well-being, freedom and the dignity of man. In so far as the American people can be shown to work earnestly for these compatible interests it may be assumed that understanding and favorable opinion might prevail. In the meantime, efforts might be concentrated on keeping public awareness of incompatibility to the bare minimum so that detrimental political action may be avoided. Such a condition does not necessitate the presentation of untruths but suggest the presentation of a balanced picture, well-proportioned as to the significance of success and failure. "Balancing" suggests selection and not necessarily "propaganda" in the popular sense of the word.

#### The Process of Image-Formation

There is not only an element of choice with the communicator what he will say, as well as how and when he will say it, but there resides also a degree of choice with the 'receiver'. Not all people see the same thing in the same way. Lippman refers to this difference in human perception as "transfiguration". He points out how the eyewitness to an event seeks to recount the happening through a strange mixture of what



the observer brought as pre-conceived ideas and of what actually occurred. It is suggested by Lippman that we pick out what our culture has already defined for us. Then we tend to perceive that which we have picked out in a form stereotyped for us by our culture.<sup>219</sup> The understanding and favorable opinion the Dutch have concerning the United States is therefore distinctly tied up with the stereotype image that prevails among them. This form of thought economy is most natural. Every person simply cannot engage in a completely new adaptation or complete examination of a person or object in order to come to some classification.<sup>220</sup> As such the stereotype is a manner of thought formation by which one comes to assume in advance that each new member of the stereotyped group will have the traits and characteristics encompassed by the stereotype. All the words and deeds of the member of the outgroup are thus from the very beginning interpreted on the basis of the stereotype.<sup>221</sup> The same tendencies can be observed of the policies of the politically organized out-group.

In most cases the stereotype held by one people of another is inclined to be weighted with undesirable characteristics. Rose describes how frustration has driven individuals and/or nations to aggressive acts, and how their inability to strike back at the thing that makes them

---

<sup>219</sup>Walter Lippman, Public Opinion (New York: Macmillan, 1922), pp. 80-81.

<sup>220</sup>A.M.J. Chorus, Grondslagen der sociale psychologie (Leiden: Stenfert Kroese, 1959), p. 246.

<sup>221</sup>Ibid., p. 242. Some have even gone so far as to suggest that the stereotype is a sort of "self-fulfilling prophecy", i.e. that the 'foreigner' actually will find his conduct conditioned by what is expected from him.

unhappy has made them find a "scape-goat".<sup>222</sup> Curiously enough, Rose mentions as some possible reasons for a nation's frustration: housing shortage, loss of colonies and/or inability to lead or even determine its own policy...These three could well be labelled reasons why the Dutch might be inclined to attribute undesirable characteristics to the foreigners, who they consider liable for causing these frustrations.<sup>223</sup>

Rose also discusses the subconscious causation in the choice of the scape-goat. He mentions fear of large numbers (population of the United States is almost seventeen times that of The Netherlands) and fear of power (unquestionably, Dutch foreign policy stands in the shadow of United States power) as possible fears underlying the unconscious action of selecting the scape-goat.<sup>224</sup>

Whatever may be suggested as specific fears having possible causal relationship, the selection of the scape-goat must be justified and made acceptable to the mass public. Here rationalization enters into the process. A vicious circle is caused by the continued discovery of new proofs and characteristics; and actions that do not fit the stereotype are discarded as occasional exceptions or as the exceptions that prove the rule. This sort of re-enforcement tends to provide rigidity and relative unchangeability to the image.<sup>225</sup> Also, in order to facilitate

---

<sup>222</sup>Arnold Rose, The Roots of Prejudice (Paris: UNESCO, 1951), pp. 29-30.

<sup>223</sup>Couple with these possible grudges the discontent of the Dutch with regard to United States policy vis-a-vis Indonesian independence.

<sup>224</sup>Rose, pp. 32-33.

<sup>225</sup>Chorus, p. 228.

popular adoption of the stereotype the image will become very simplified and virtually anthropomorphic in its description of the other nation(s). The governments and the peoples of other nations are identified and characterized as if they were one and the same.

It is also interesting to note that one's own country is seen in distinctly more favorable light than the out-country. Allport suggests that this phenomenon ties in with the fact that every nation at some time in its history has experienced relative superiority.<sup>226</sup> The Dutch people cannot help but recognize in themselves some of the glory and capabilities of their ancestors in their "Golden Age". In the seventeenth century the Dutch were masters of the seas and world leaders in commerce and finance.

The findings of Rose and Allport suggest an additional point: there does not have to be any basis of truth or reality to the content of the stereotype. Hartley confirmed this when he found that people who were inclined to stereotype certain outgroups did the same thing to non-existing groups and frequently in virtually the same terms.<sup>227</sup>

#### The Dutch Stereotype of Americans

The first substantial measurement of the image the Dutch people hold of America(ns) was done in 1948 under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.<sup>228</sup> A list of

---

<sup>226</sup>Gordon W. Allport, "The Role of Expectancy", in Hadley Cantril (ed.) Tensions that Cause War (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1950), p. 54.

<sup>227</sup>Related in H.J. Eysenck, The Psychology of Politics (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954), p. 241.

<sup>228</sup>Described and reported in William Buchanan, "How Others See Us", The Annals of the American Academy of Social and Political Sciences, CCXCV (September 1954), pp. 1-11.

twelve adjectives was presented to the respondents. Respondents were then asked to say which of these adjectives best describe the peoples listed (including their own people). Table 22 shows how the Dutch sample described Americans, Russians and themselves.

In order to evaluate the relative content of the stereotype Buchanan developed a so-called "stereotype score". He multiplied the

Table 22

IMAGES  
of  
AMERICANS, RUSSIANS AND DUTCHMEN<sup>229</sup>  
maintained by a  
sample of the Dutch people  
1948 and 1954

Adjectives	Americans			Russians			Dutchmen		
	1948	1954	Diff.	1948	1954	Diff.	1948	1954	Diff.
<u>Positive</u>									
Hardworking	49	44	-5	36	36	-	62	66	4
Intelligent	33	29	-4	8	6	-2	49	43	-6
Practical	61	62	1	6	5	-1	36	37	1
Generous	40	32	-8	3	2	-1	23	26	3
Brave	25	25	-	21	16	-5	37	37	-
Self-control	16	17	1	3	6	3	36	30	-6
Progressive	57	64	7	15	12	-3	43	53	10
Peace-loving	40	41	1	6	9	3	68	64	-4
			<u>-7</u>			<u>-6</u>			<u>2</u>
<u>Negative</u>									
Conceited	15	18	3	10	10	-	14	12	-2
Cruel	2	2	-	53	57	4	-	1	1
Backward	1	1	-	45	39	-6	1	1	-
Domineering	16	20	4	50	55	5	5	4	-1
			<u>7</u>			<u>3</u>			<u>-2</u>

<sup>229</sup>This chart is basically derived from Buchanan, *op. cit.*, p. 9. The figures for 1954 were adjusted by Buchanan because of a tendency with the 1954 respondents to select fewer adjectives to describe their objects.

average of negative words used to describe the Americans by two (to equalize the relation between positive and negative terms used, which was two to one), and subtracted this from the positive average. A complete positive description would score "plus 8.0" and the use of only negative adjectives would score "minus 8.0". Among the stereotypes participating peoples had of Americans in 1948 the Dutch stereotype score was highest (plus 2.6), followed closely by the Norwegian sample (plus 2.5) and Italians (plus 2.1). Australians, French and Germans scored 1.9<sup>230</sup>.

The Netherlands Institute for Public Opinion (a Gallup affiliate) conducted -in that same general period- several surveys which tend to illustrate the same positive feelings. On February 21, 1948, the question was asked "How are your present feelings toward the American people?". Seventy-six per cent of the respondents called their feelings "friendly", 8% saw them as "unfriendly", with "no opinion" expressed by 16%.<sup>231</sup>

The 2.6 stereotype score when compared to the 8.0 ideal makes it clear that a number of negative scorings were given. Table 22 shows how particularly "conceitedness" and inclinations to be domineering were identified with Americans. Calling Americans domineering could very logically be identified with a fear of American power or with a resentment against the United States for its assertion of leadership in the Western world. These are somewhat natural feelings of a weaker country toward a world power.

---

<sup>230</sup>Chorus, p. 247.

<sup>231</sup>The Russians scored 26%, 48% and 26% respectively.

In 1947 the Netherlands Gallup organization asked a sample of the Dutch population: "In your opinion, are there nations which want to dominate the world?". Of the 84% of the respondents who thought there were such ambitious countries 37% mentioned the United States, against 57% for the Soviet Union, 4% for Great Britain and 2% for Germany. After about a year a similar sample saw it slightly differently. Possibly the Marshall Plan caused only 26% of the August 10, 1948, sample to mention the United States against 75% mentioning the Russians (and interestingly enough, 14% thought the Germans to have such designs again).

"Conceitedness" could to a large extent result from the superficial contacts with American travellers, the conduct of the military personnel during and after the war, and the tendency of Americans to express the value of things, persons, and success in terms of dollars or other tangible means.

On the more positive side, it is not difficult to imagine how the Dutch might score the Americans as "progressive". Their awareness of the rapid growth of the American nation and economy, its fantastic technology and industrialization, its freedom from the bonds of the past, its daring architecture (so visually expressed in the skyscrapers), may readily have contributed to that labelling.

A sense of the "practical" could easily refer to the American abilities in marketing and management, the unceremonial pragmatism and cold judgments in affairs of business, the functional architecture of Wright and others.

The tremendous war effort of the American people during both the twentieth century wars, the drive for things and earning power, the actual

personal and national achievements, all of these bring to mind the description "hard-working".

Leadership in the defense of the Western world and the predominant role played by the United States in the United Nations may well have led to the use of the term "peace-loving".

Some rather interesting conclusions may be drawn from a comparison between the adjectives applied to Americans and the adjectives these same Dutch respondents applied to describe their own people. In the area of positive characterizations, Americans surpass the Dutch in the area of generosity, practical inclinations and progressivism. The high rating of generosity is distinctly identifiable with the Marshall Plan, and the high ratings of "practical" and "progressive" may quite well reflect an admiration of the Dutch people for American know-how with a sizable mixture of personal criticism for an environment which imposes such restraints as Calvinistic moralism (the Dutch criticizing their own mores).

This would to a certain degree substantiate the reasoning of Lerner that every image has at least four dimensions: how Self views the other, how the other views Self, how others view other, and how Self views Self.<sup>232</sup> At the same time, this observation of "practical" and "progressive" might well have had a negative connotation in the mind of the Dutch respondents. Professor den Hollander asserts that Dutch opinion elite hold an image which leads them to reject "an existence in which man will live from week-end to week-end" in "a country of unhappy, pleasure-

---

<sup>232</sup>Daniel Lerner, "World Imagery and American Propaganda Strategy", Columbia Journal of International Affairs, V (Spring 1951), pp. 25-26.

seeking automaton, a land of material luxury where the spiritual luxury of individual existence is denied". He asserts that this aversion results from the elite's observation of American civilization "based completely on norms of efficiency, directed to provide the greatest possible degree of material well-being for the greatest possible number."<sup>233</sup>

Table 22 is particularly interesting in the sense that it involves the picture held by the Dutch people of the Russian people. The United States Information Service has found itself called upon to combat certain favorable attitudes, which had developed among the Dutch as a result of the activities of the Russian underground and armed forces during World War II (against the common enemy: Germany). However, Table 22 indicates that there are no real high scorings in positive identifications of the Russian people. Not in a single instance are the Russians rated higher -in a positive characterization- than the Dutch people rate themselves. It is particularly in the concept "brave" that the Russians approach the American image (21% and 25% respectively). "Hardworking" and "progressive" identifications are quite logically given when one considers the achievements of the radically progressive and energetic Socialist state. Note particularly the very high scores (i.e. absolute as well as relative score) for "cruelty", "backwardness" and "domineering". It is clear that the over-all stereotype the Dutch people have of the Russians is strongly negative, in stark contrast to the stereotype held of Americans.

---

<sup>233</sup>A.N.J. den Hollander, "The Dutch Image of America", Delta (Fall 1959), p. 37.



Changes in the Stereotype

Even though it was previously suggested that stereotypes tend to be rather rigid and do not seem to change substantially over a relative period of time, there were several surveys taken since 1948 which indicate some changing feelings.

The Netherlands Institute for Public Opinion, when checking Dutch feelings toward America, obtained somewhat the same results as three and a half years before, when in the week of September 11 through 17, 1951, they found 77% of their respondents ranking their feelings as "friendly". What was interesting at that time, was the change that had come in feelings toward the Soviet Union. Thirty-four per cent of the respondents ranked their feelings as "friendly" toward them (compared with 26% in 1948), while "unfriendly" feelings had decreased from 48% to 40%.

An open-end question with somewhat different connotation, which was posed in the week of October 25 to 31, suggested continued popularity of Americans. The question "What foreigners (of a list handed to the respondent) would you prefer to deal with?" brought an all-male sample to rank Americans highest, receiving 35% of the mentions, with Canadians being favored secondly with 19% and Belgium residents receiving 15% of the mentions.

Persistence in tendency to describe Americans as "domineering" shows from a May 25, 1952 Gallup survey. When asked "Do you think that the Americans are interfering too much in the affairs of The Netherlands?" half of the respondents answered affirmatively, with 31% labelling it "not too much" and 19% expressing no opinion. The Russians, not being

involved in a program as the Marshall Plan (in so far as it involved the Dutch) or any other direct contact relationship, were thought to interfere too much by only 17%, with 52% finding Russian interference "not too much". Almost one third of the respondents (31%) did not have an opinion on Russian activities.

More relative comparisons in the development of the stereotype held by the Dutch people of Americans is possible because of a sequence study to the original 1948 stereotype survey. In 1954 the Netherlands Institute for Public Opinion repeated verbatim the adjective list and again respondents were asked to rate Americans, Russians and themselves.<sup>234</sup> Table 22 incorporates the findings of the 1954 survey.

Although no real substantial changes were noticeable, some interesting differences may be pointed out.<sup>235</sup> Most notable were -on the positive side of the image- the down-rating of American generosity. This may distinctly be identified with the termination of Marshall aid to The Netherlands (at the suggestion of the Dutch government). Nevertheless, it is somewhat questionable whether such a sharp drop (of 20% of the 1948 respondents identifying Americans as such) was the result of the singular policy change. It should be realized that the down-rating occurred even after American aid during the severe flood of 1953. In spite of generosity shown by the United States government and individuals during those disastrous days, a sharp image change developed. It seems

<sup>234</sup>Buchanan, p. 10.

<sup>235</sup>It was suggested before that stereotypes tend to be rather rigid in broad outlines and that they are subject to drastic and sudden change in particular areas.

more feasible to identify this happening with the drastic cutback and virtual stoppage of the information activities of the Economic Co-operation Administration in The Netherlands.<sup>236</sup> Although no distinct proof can be afforded of this, there is a distinct possibility that sudden changes in volume and nature of international communication in a particular target area may have distinct negative effects. The receiving public noticing the sudden vacuum in communication may well tend to identify that phenomenon with a possible decision that their response isn't needed anymore, which in turn tends to encourage a feeling of having been "used". Such suspicion about the possible opportunistic, "propagandistic" intent of the suspended communication could well lead to negative aggressive actions.

A second distinct image change concerned the identification of Americans as hard-working. A possible tie-in may exist here with the opinion by many Dutchmen about the quantity and quality of United States leadership in world affairs of the early fifties. Another explanation may lie in the tendency of the information program to over-sell the material comforts of life of the average American. Such an emphasis on the benefits of the capitalist economy tends to generate envy and irritation, particularly with a people which is known to be hard-working. Having to do without the luxury and gadgets characteristic of the American standard of living, may well lead the Dutch to resentment and a tendency to label Americans lazy. If the questionnaire does not include the objective "lazy", the next best move would be to down-rate American

---

<sup>236</sup>The possibility of lingering bad feelings about American intervention in the Indonesian difficulties should not be overlooked here either.

industriousness.

This change in the rating of "hard working" is even more significant when one considers the tendency of people to correlate the changes in image of "friendly" peoples with the image of Self. The Dutch sharply improved their rating in this category, while the Americans did not benefit from this change at all.

In 1954 the Dutch rated their "intelligence" much lower than in 1948, while also down-grading Americans on this adjective. Here again may be some measure of regret or resentment among the Dutch for having to submit to the leadership of the United States, while having serious reservations about the quality of that leadership. Correlated with this could be the phenomenon that the Dutch rated themselves drastically less "self-controlled" and "peace-loving". Preparedness obligations under the North Atlantic Treaty and some regret about activities in Indonesia may have brought about this change of mind.<sup>237</sup>

A tie-in change between the Dutch people's image of themselves and the image they have of Americans took place also in the category "progressive". On this characteristic the image of the American enjoyed a drastic increase for the better. This connected improvement may be seen in relation to the great pride of the Dutch people in their recovery and the rather successful industrialization of their economy. Americans were -to some extent- the inspiration and the example of these efforts, and as such may well have shared in this pride-based improvement

---

<sup>237</sup>It should be kept in mind that the 1954 scoring occurred shortly after the high tide of McCarthyism, with its unfortunate repercussions even reaching into Europe.

in image. Note that the Russians are actually rated as less progressive than in 1948. This is possibly related to the relative status quo in the Russian economy (recovery from World War II was still in progress and the spectacular Sputnik era was still in the offing).

It is noteworthy that Americans maintained their identification as a peace-loving and self-controlled people. Even though the latter adjective was not mentioned by many (only 17%, in adjusted percentages) and was identified more with Americans than with Russians, the Russians improved their ratings in that respect. Both in self-control and peace-lovingness the Russians left a better image than they had in 1948 (in spite of Korea).

Some rather interesting observations could also be made on the negative side of the images. In 1954 Americans received many more identifications as being domineering. The Russians also worsened their already bad scoring in this respect, although they experienced a smaller percentage change (only about 10%, with 25% deterioration in the American image).

Americans were, in 1954, scored more frequently as "conceited" than was the case in 1948. Possibly, here again may be detected resentment against the materialistic picture of America drawn by our communicators.<sup>208</sup>

The Russians found themselves identified as backward by considerably fewer people than in 1948. This change may partially be attributed to increased communication from behind the Iron Curtain. Curiously

---

<sup>238</sup>Note that the Dutch were rated less conceited, while there was no change in the rating of the Russians (already rated lowest in this category).

enough, there remains a good possibility that the Dutch and American information services knowingly and unknowingly have contributed to this change. In their double responsibility to show not only the superiority of the free nations of the world, but also to keep the Dutch people aware of the Soviet threat they may well have left an imprint of achievement within the Soviet Union that was worth re-arming against. The change in Russian image is not so overwhelmingly drastic as it might appear; particularly if it is observed that their "backward" rating is still high when compared with the image of Americans and self.

The most drastic change in negative identifications of any image was the quite sizable increase in the already high percentage of respondents ranking the Russians as "cruel". Incidental causation may lie here in the increasing flow of Iron Curtain refugees reaching Holland as well as in the recent revelations of the intrigue in the Kremlin just after Stalin's death. It seems more probable, however, that this characterization may be coupled with Western propaganda efforts to re-enforce the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and its solidarity.<sup>239</sup>

An over-all comparison of image changes, as recorded in Table 22, shows some general but rather interesting trends. The picture the Dutch people had of themselves improved somewhat during the period from 1948 to 1954. Over-all total percentage traits changed in ratio between good and bad traits from a ration of 354 : 20 to 356 : 18. Good trait scoring

---

<sup>239</sup>This "achievement" may be criticized as being irrelevant to the long range interest of the United States. It seems, however, that this phenomenon illustrates so well that short range objectives may well demand compromise adjustments as regards long range objectives (to improve the image of the United States).

increased by two per cent and bad traits scoring decreased by two per cent, making an over-all change for the better of four.

The image of the Russian people changed the scoring ratio from 98 good : 158 bad trait total percentages to 92 good and 161 bad. Over-all change for the worse of nine.

The American image changed with an over-all deterioration of fourteen. Instead of 321 total percentage scorings of good traits, in 1954 there were 314, making for a deterioration of seven. Bad traits scoring (expressed by totalling all percentage scorings in this category) increased from 34 to 41, a change of seven per cent.

#### The Process of Image Change

The 1948 content or the changes that took place in the image of Americans since that time can not be simply be attributed to the work of the United States Information Service. In order to come to such determination it must be established how images may change.

Buchanan suggests that stereotypes or images of other peoples have two components: the pre-conception and the perception.<sup>240</sup> The pre-conception is the element of the image which is passed on to the individual by the cultural environment in which he exists. This is described as the image which would exist even if the individual never saw one of the stereotyped people in the flesh and never had reached any conclusions about them on his own. With an image of a foreign people this element of pre-conception is even more important than with the stereotype of minorities in one's own nation. The shop foreman in Amsterdam who is a bulwark

---

<sup>240</sup>Buchanan, p. 7.

both in his union and in his party, has only that notion of America which was passed on to him. He will probably never visit the United States, quite probably never meet an American, or even read about America or Americans (except for some sports news or an occasional human interest story in his favorite newspaper or the occasional viewing of a Hollywood-made movie). The major share of his image of America is passed on to him in the same informal manner in which other culture traits are transmitted from one generation to another.<sup>241</sup> And in the same sense, this transmission takes place at the general time and age in life when the habit of making judgments about other people and groups is formed. Buchanan points out that by the time the youngster reaches high school the adult image is pretty well approximated.<sup>242</sup> Even though this suggestion mainly referred to the formation of images of minority groups in one's own society, it may be assumed that a general correlation exists between this procedure and that regarding foreign peoples. The latter assertion seems particularly feasible when it is noted that confrontation with evidences of foreign peoples starts much earlier in life and is much more intensive today than it was years ago.

#### The Image Among Dutch Prep School Students

In order that some evaluation may be made of the pre-conception element of the image as present in the mind of the high school / junior college student, I checked several matters in the fall of 1959. In the

---

<sup>241</sup>Rose, p. 25.

<sup>242</sup>Buchanan, p. 5.



first place, I made an effort to ascertain how much presentation about the United States is included in the curriculum of college prep schools. This determination was limited to two areas: history and geography.

As was indicated in Chapter IV the educational system at that level has four different major group programs, each with its peculiar emphasis and differences. Even though there are certain differences in amount and content of history and geography materials presented to these curriculum groups, the following general observations may suffice:

In the field of history it is not customary to present a course or courses in American history as such. History of the United States is fused into the presentations in world history and, particularly, in those time periods in which the United States played a role worthy of world mention. In the gymnasia (the classical prep program) the United States is discussed in such a manner only in the last year, which is comparable to the sophomore year in American colleges. In that year's curriculum particular emphasis is given to world history since World War II.

In the non-classical prep-program (Hogere Burger School) United States history is taught in about the same fashion as in the gymnasium, i.e., in the context of recent world history. This is done in the last two years of this program, the fourth and fifth years.

Some more specific observations can be made concerning the geography curriculum.<sup>243</sup> In the second year of both the gymnasium and the Hogere Burger School some sort of discussion will take place concerning the United

---

<sup>243</sup>Most of this material on the geography curriculum was supplied by Dr. W.J. Jong, chairman of the Geographical Society in The Netherlands (A personal letter dated October 27, 1959).

States. The amount and kind of attention varies from school to school and from instructor to instructor. There seems to be a general tendency to discuss first the continents that present less complicated pictures, more specifically Australia, Africa and South America. Consequently the treatment of North America may frequently be limited to a mere study of topography (familiarizing students with names of places, rivers, etc.) or may even be left out completely. Since many instructors stick pretty closely to their textbook and since the standard texts describe North America to some extent, it may hence, be assumed that some attention will be given to the United States.

The study plan for the fourth year of Hogere Burgerschool, A-program,<sup>244</sup> includes a discussion of the social-economic life in different countries. Even though there is some variation from school to school, these "different countries" may include the British Commonwealth, the Soviet Union, China, the United States, and sometimes Belgium and Germany. In the B-program<sup>245</sup> the curriculum calls for a discussion of physical geography as well as ethnology. There seem to be many instructors who take out time to discuss general subjects in connection with America, such as the race problem or the agricultural depression. In the fifth year of the B-program there frequently is time taken out from the scheduled discussion of the social geography of The Netherlands to discuss some topics of world scope and importance. Topics, such as "the world supply of food", "technical assistance to underdeveloped areas", "areas for

---

<sup>244</sup>The five-year program with emphasis on foreign languages, economics and commerce.

<sup>245</sup>The five-year program with emphasis on mathematics and science.

emigration" may be discussed in this context. In subject areas such as these some discussion of the United States and its policies is inevitable.

Keeping such a curriculum arrangement in mind, some interesting things can be done with the image of America and Americans as it exists among the prep school students. In 1950 a Dutch psychologist, 't Hart, conducted an experiment with 60 prep school students (35 boys, 25 girls), 17 years of age; all belonging to the upper middle class.<sup>246</sup> He directed three basic completion questions to these students: "When you think of America, you think of...", "I admire America because.." and "I become irritated with America because...".

Reactions to the first question ("When you think of America, you think of...") have for general purposes been divided into seven categories; desirable personal characteristics; undesirable characteristics; dress habits and personal conduct patterns; wealth; culture objects; and culture traits.<sup>247</sup> Most mentions were given to indicators of wealth, such as "wealthy", "millionaires", "money", "dollars", "prosperity", "beastly wealthy", "big fancy cars", "cars", "electric refrigerators" and "air-planes".<sup>248</sup> Forty-five mentions were given to this category, with an interesting ratio of the boys scoring this category twice as heavily as the girls (30 : 15). The category which received second highest scoring

---

<sup>246</sup>W.A. 't Hart, Psychologie der internationale betrekkingen (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1957) pp. 70-82.

<sup>247</sup>These categories were devised by me (not by 't Hart) and are relatively arbitrary. Scorings were made according to my interpretation of intent.

<sup>248</sup>The latter three terms are not merely identifications of technological achievement. They are distinctly identified with wealth or luxury (in the eyes of the average Dutchman).

(37) was "desirable personal characteristics". In this category were classified such observations as "spontaneous", "attractive", "certain charm", "ability to create atmosphere", "pleasant people", "big-heartedness", "casualness", "smoothness", "industriousness", "energetic", "business-like", "speedy", "many opinions". Individual highest scoring in this category was given to "big-heartedness" (held to be the same as "generous"). In the general category of "desirable personal characteristics" the boys scored proportionately and absolutely higher again than the girls, with 23 mentions against 14. Dress and personal habits, such as "cigaret", "coca-cola", "chewing-gum", "shirt out of trousers", "colorful uniform", "cigar", "nylons", "lipstick", "nail polish", "make-up", "peddle-pushers", "loud colors", "short cut hair" received 35 mentions with an expected high scoring of 19 by the girls versus 16 by the boys. Within this group of prep students there were 26 mentions made in the category of culture objects. This includes mentions such as "skyscrapers", "New York City", "White House", "Statue of Liberty", "beautiful scenery", "blue water", "big cities", "vast", "beautiful weather". The boys were distinctly more aware of these rather physical features at a ratio of 18 : 8. A particularly high scoring was given to "skyscrapers". The boys mentioned this 8 times and the girls 4 for a total of 12 out of 26. If the four mentions of "New York City" were included there would be a total of 16 out of 26.

Among the various culture traits 3 mentions were given to "Indians" and 6 to "Hollywood", "film" and/or "movie star". These two almost speak for themselves...

The last category, "undesirable personal characteristics" was scored 24 times with an even number of dislikes between the two sexes. In this category of mentions may be found "conspicuous", "noisy", "much to do about nothing", "superficial", "artificial", "materialistic", "characterless", "impersonal", "egotistic", "indifferent", "childish" and "suckers".

In order to come to some more up-to-date determination of the image held by prep school students, I selected a larger sample than had been used by 't Hart in 1950. In 1959 students were selected from six prep schools. The total sample amounted to 217, with 40% of the group enrolled in Protestant schools, 40% in Roman Catholic schools and 20% from a public school. There was also a more realistic distribution between purely urban and rural prep schools with 110 students from urban and 106 from rural prep schools. The sex division of the 1959 sample is distorted in opposite direction from the distortion of the 1950 sample. This time the unbalance was in favor of the boys (157 boys versus 60 girls).<sup>249</sup> A rather interesting phenomenon is the amount of exposure to Americans in this 1959 sample; 66% of the sample had been in contact with Americans. It is also interesting to keep in mind that the schools attended by 40% of the sample had -at the time of the survey or in the school year immediately preceding it- a Fullbright teacher from the United States. Within the latter two schools there also took place some friendly competition between students of two English language teachers.

---

<sup>249</sup> This distortion was related to the inclusion of a sizeable sample of students from a Roman Catholic gymnasium (little seminary) which reflected some rather interesting attitudes.

With the knowledge and cooperation of the cultural affairs officer of the United States Information Service, a contest was held to see what teacher's students were best informed on the United States. The teachers involved in the contest cooperated in selecting a survey sample from their respective schools. Thus, there is considerable possibility that these two samples include some of the students who were involved in that information contest.

Even though the depth interview method was not used in this survey and though it was limited in many other respects, its general findings are of some use. It should be pointed out, however, that these findings were not designed to and are not used to show how the image was formed and/or evolved. There are, nevertheless, some possibilities of suggesting effectiveness of the filmstrip program, school radio activities, the geography text distributed to geography teachers and the presence of Fullbright teachers. As long as these inferences are understood to be made with a great measure of reserve, and not all in the context of singular causation some conclusions can be drawn from the findings.

The 1959 sample was asked the same three questions used in 1950 by 't Hart. To the first question: "When you think of America, you think of ..." some rather striking answers were given, some of which were quite different from those received by 't Hart.

Again the highest number of mentions was given to indicators of wealth.<sup>250</sup> One hundred and three references were made to the wealth of the

---

<sup>250</sup>More detailed descriptions of this category were given on p. 211.

American people, with no specific indication that personal contact made any difference at all. Sixty-six of the 103 answers were given by students who had been exposed to Americans (two-thirds of the total sample was exposed). As in 1950, boys seemed to be more cognizant of this facet of the image than girls, as 75 mentions were made by boys against 28 by girls. It might be interesting to note that in the two schools where students were most exposed, almost all of the mentions of wealth were made by exposed students. Their mentions were in much greater proportion of over-all mentions than that of the exposed students to the total sample.

The decreasing importance of "wealth" mentions (24% in 1950 against 16% in 1959) in relation to the total answer to the first question, is curiously paralleled by a significant decrease in importance of categories such as "desirable personal characteristics", "undesirable characteristics" and "dress and personal habits". In the 1959 sample "desirable personal characteristics" only received 11 mentions (2%)<sup>251</sup> and these were mainly given by girls from the two schools exposed to Fullbright teachers. One boy, who had no direct contact with Americans, also made a reference to desirable personal characteristics. "Undersirable personal characteristics" were mentioned more frequently (23 times or 4%) with an interesting difference in the amount of exposure among those mentioning items in this category. Two-thirds of the mentions in this category were made by students who had been or were in direct contact with Americans. The exposure rate is significantly lower than with students mentioning personal characteristics which could be called "desirable". However, since two-

---

<sup>251</sup>For detailed descriptions see p. 211.

thirds of the total sample was exposed to Americans it would not be warranted to draw any conclusions at this time about the desirability or undesirability of personal contact. There might be a hint here that cultural differences which are not explained (such as differences in table manners) and which are so obvious tend to bring about ethno-centric reactions or disfavor. Consequently, purely personal contact without accompanying opportunities to explain might be detrimental with certain ethno-centric elements of the population.

The mentions of dress habits and personal habits were negligible in the 1959 sample. Only five girls (all exposed to a female Fullbright teacher) made mention of this, with all of these girls being in the same class of the same school.

The most remarkable difference between the 1950 small group's test and the 1959 survey was in the area of mentions of "culture objects" and "culture traits". The fact that the 1959 sample was more specifically directed to prep school students may have contributed substantially to the higher degree of sophistication to be noted in the 1959 answers. The difference in audience, however, was not so significant as the difference in trends of answers.

While in 1951 only 26 mentions (12%) were made of "culture objects", in 1959 the number of mentions was much higher (218 mentions or 24%). Within this category 157 mentions were given to purely physical objects, items which might be labelled typical points of remembrance of geography lessons.

It is most interesting to see how the "skyscraper" image persists even with the more sophisticated sample. "Skyscrapers" and such related mentions as "big cities", "New York", "enormous building", "Empire Station



(sic!) Building", and "Statue of Liberty" amounted to 92 or 58% of the physical object mentions. The picture of New York City and its skyline is still one of the first exposures outsiders receive of the United States. For years, this was just about all many Dutch students ever knew about America (except for some acquaintance with Indians and cowboys).<sup>252</sup> What is significant in this "skyscraper subcategory is the ratio of mentions by the students at the three not-so-exposed institutions. The exposed students have 33.5% of the mentions in this category, while exposed students gave 35.5% of the total answers to the over-all question. This difference becomes even more pronounced when it is compared with mentions of physical features that are distinctly identifiable with the vastness of the country and the various features of the Central Plains and the West. The latter identifications by the students of the more exposed schools amounted to 51% in that category, which included mentions such as "vast country", "wide highways", "vast unsettled territories", and "great plains".

This rather sizable identification of previously obscure features of United States geography is most encouraging. It particularly seems to suggest that the geography teachers and curriculum planners, and the United States Information Service have left a certain imprint on the content of the student's first identification of America.

Some additional observations may be made on the basis of the number of mentions made in the category "culture traits". It is not

---

<sup>252</sup>Acquaintance with the American Wild West is due to the Western movies as well as to the writings of a German, Karl May, whose books have been a must in a young man's library for years.

surprising that the largest number of mentions in this category were given to objects and activities which are popularly identified with American civilization. Items such as "movies", "Hollywood", "jazz", "coca-cola", "rock and roll", "glamor", "movie stars", "pop corn", and "baseball" received 50 mentions, with no significant deviation with regard to exposure to Americans. It is interesting to note that a disproportionately large number of mentions of these items was given by the students in the Roman Catholic boys school. Their response added up to 40% of such references, while their total response to this first general question amounted to only 27% of the total reaction. In many of the mentions by these boys a strong overtone of moral disapproval could be detected.

Items involving the United States position in the world (in relation to Russia as well as the Free World) and United States foreign policy received a total of 48 mentions. Twenty-eight of these mentions or 58% were made by students who had been in contact with Americans. This percentage of foreign policy mentions (58%) is rather low when it is pointed out that exposed students gave 70% of the responses to the first question of the questionnaire ("What do you think of ...").

The name "Eisenhower", which could also be considered as a mention with foreign policy overtones, was given rather frequently by the students at the Roman Catholic boys school (11 mentions). When these are added to their already high foreign policy identification (14 mentions), they will be of some significance in the total sample reaction in this area (25 mentions or 42%). It is true, however, that many of the mentions by these boys seemed to have negative overtones.

The technological achievements of the American society did not go unmentioned either. Thirty-eight mentions were made of such items as "mechanization", "inventions", "efficiency", "big industries", "atomic submarines", "atomic power" and other items which can be fitted in that category. It is interesting again that in this category students from the two more exposed schools scored this more sophisticated category more heavily (17 mentions or 44% in comparison with their 35% of the total answers to this question).

The "Negro problem" was mentioned eighteen times.<sup>253</sup> Twenty-seven mentions were made of the American political and/or economic system, with a great preponderance of these mentions given by boys (24). Just over half of these mentions came from students exposed to Americans. Comparing this with the 70% of the total responses made by exposed students, there seems to be ground to assume that exposure does not make the slightest difference here.

The second question in the 1959 survey was directed toward points of admiration. To the question "I admire America because..." a varied number of completions were given. The greatest number of completions (55 mentions or 11% of the responses to this question) expressed admiration for the technological achievements of American society. The sex division of the sample, favoring the male students, may have distinctly influenced this response. Male students scored this very heavily (85% compared with their proportion of the total responses to this question

---

<sup>253</sup>It should again be pointed out that these mentions were given in response to the identification question, not an investigation into points of irritation.

(77%). Curiously enough, the two more exposed schools did not score this item so highly as the other three.

Second highest point of admiration concerned the Marshall Plan and the other foreign aid activities of the United States government. Of the 40 mentions the great majority (31 or 78%) were given by students from the less exposed schools. This trend is also borne out when reviewing the proportion of the foreign aid mentions by exposed students (58%) and comparing this with their share in the over-all response to the admiration question (68%). Appreciation for this item of United States foreign policy does not at all seem to be promoted positively by direct exposure to Americans.

A certain amount of appreciation was also expressed of United States leadership in the world struggle through reference to such items as "world leadership", "defense of freedom", "resistance against Communism" and "efforts for peace". Thirty-five such responses were given with no distinction as to exposure differentiation. When these foreign policy appreciations are added to the admiration expressed for foreign aid programs, this combined area overshadows by far any other category of appreciation (75 mentions or 18% of the total response).

Items which are classifiable directly or indirectly as points of admiration as regards the high level of living in the United States totaled 29 or seven per cent. The curious thing here is that this category was scored higher by the students of the three lesser exposed schools (72% compared with their 61% of total response). The same thing is true as regards admiration for the nation's rapid development (the three schools

scoring 72% in that category) and to a lesser degree in the admiration for the industrial and business activities in the United States (67%).

Some rather curious observations may be made concerning dislikes about America and Americans. In answer to the question "I become irritated with America because..." a total response was given which just about equalled the over-all response on points of admiration. The total admiration items was 407 (with 68% of the mentions by exposed students) while points of irritation amounted to 395 (with the exact same percentage of mentions by exposed respondents).

It is somewhat significant to point out that the 1950 response was weighted somewhat more in favor of points of admiration. In that small group 132 recognitions of admiration were made against 102 mentions of irritation.

The strong dislike of the Dutch people, and even the present-day younger generation, for the problem of racial discrimination -in its varied aspects- becomes quite clear from the 1959 results. One hundred and twenty mentions were made in this category of points of irritation, which adds up to 30% of the total response. The critical attitude of the Dutch people toward this problem has been borne out in several unpublished surveys. There did not seem to be any appreciable difference in the 1959 sample between the responses of exposed and non-exposed students on this question.. The only deviation shows with responses from the students of a prep school in Amsterdam. Although they scored only 23% of the total response to this question on irritation, the problem of racial discrimination shows them scoring 28%. Some explanation may lie here in the

rather strong Socialist and Communist vote in the capital city.

The second highest scoring of irritation was in the category of "undesirable personal characteristics". Sixty-six mentions (17%) were given to such items as "bad manners", "nonchalance", "superficiality", "spendthriftiness", "excessive business mentality", "bragging", "gaudiness", "indifferent", "much talk and little action", "hardness" and "lack of culture". The remainder of critical mentions were scattered in various other areas.

Even though some of the discussed facets of the image held by these Dutch students seem rather irrelevant -politically speaking- and are subject to maturation, they reflect the temperament of the general image and reveal some of its weaker sides. The purely irrational, emotional identifications, points of admiration and/or criticism can only be dealt with through increased education, tolerance and discrimination. To a certain extent these are the result of the "unexpected" in the differing culture. As long as the two cultures show some drastic differences and patriotic self-evaluation persists, this sort of stereotyping is inevitable.

The area of the image which offers promise for improvement is that element which is based upon perception of the concrete. The points of ignorance, misinformation or misguided reasoning which are identifiable in some facets of the images discussed above become the responsibility of the American communicators. By alleviating these elements, or at least minimizing their volume and intensity, the feelings of friendliness and tolerance toward American policies will tend to increase.

The proportional increase in specifics and concrete items in the image held about America and Americans is most encouraging, and can distinctly be -at least partially- credited to the United States Information Service.

The Perception Element of the Image  
about America

The second element of the stereotype, the "perception" element, refers to the effort of the individual to organize the incomprehensible, unpredictable whole. This particularly takes place concerning the foreigner's actions which the individual thinks may affect him or his family directly.

It is in this context that the Dutch laborer seeks to understand what the Marshall Plan was all about, or what the Americans had in mind when they suggested the Dutch join the North Atlantic Pact.

Although the pre-conception element of the laborer's image of America may be favorable or relatively concrete (so that it may be expected that he will be able to understand in rough outline the American motivations) this process of perception should not be left to chance. In this stage of stereotyping is found the more immediate area of responsibility -at this time and under the given circumstances- to communicate the motives underlying American policies and actions. In the absence of such deliberate effort the element of chance of proper conjecture would be considerable.

It is almost impossible to predict by what sort of associations the imaginary Dutch shop foreman would have labelled the actions of the

Marshall Plan. For example, he might have associated those policies with an incidental impression he obtained from the Dutch press about Senator McCarthy and his activities. Thus, he might have been inclined to see Americans as extremely calculated, authoritarian and self-centered, and judged the Marshall Plan to be a selfish, calculated scheme for the disposal of surplus goods and the purchase of friendship.

A determination of the relative effectiveness of USIS efforts to direct the perception element will be given in the next chapter, when short range effects will be the order of the discussion.



## CHAPTER VI

### SHORT RANGE EFFECTS

It should be understood from the outset that this chapter's discussion is based on two assumptions. In the first place, as was suggested in Chapter II, the United States information program in The Netherlands may well be characterized as being geared primarily to the achievement of long range objectives. That suggestion was validated by the even, somewhat consistent flow of information activities, which are non-aggressive in nature and which are predominantly concerned with information about American culture. Secondly, since no intensive, short range campaigns were conducted during the period of this field study<sup>254</sup>, this chapter will not consist of a comparative study of opinions and attitudes before and after one or more intensive, short range information campaigns. Rather, this discussion will be conducted in terms of evidences of effect such as Dutch foreign policy and the placement record of United States Information Service materials. Even though these two categories differ greatly in directness of correlation with the communication effort of the United States in The Netherlands, they tend to be the only indicators available at the present time. Each of these sheds its light in its own particular area of measurement of effect.

---

<sup>254</sup> This description does not merely fit the pattern of activities in the test period. Such is the nature of USIS work in The Netherlands.

Dutch Foreign Policy

A discussion of recent foreign policy in this context does not suggest that Dutch policy decisions and actions are based solely or substantially upon instigations or pressures from the American embassy and/or information service. Such suggestions would be ridiculous. However, it is assumed that a favorable image of America -influenced by the efforts of the Information Service- increased the probability of the Dutch government acting politically in agreement with American foreign policy objectives. The degree of probability of agreeable action is obviously greatly influenced by the compatability of Dutch and American policy objectives, and the background upon which recent Dutch foreign policy is based.

Ever since the days in which Dutch financiers aided in the struggle for independence of the American colonies the relations between the United States and The Netherlands have been most amicable. These good feelings were evident from general trade relations as well as by a certain degree of agreement on basic principles of democratic government. Speaking purely politically, however, the Dutch maintained a neutralist position in disputes involving the United States. In this sense, The Netherlands and the United States walked parallel roads; the United States preferring a certain degree of isolation from the complications of European politics, and the Dutch maintaining a strictly legalistic position with no commitment to any particular party or bloc. Dutch neutrality in World War I, the furnishing of Dutch marines during the days of the Saar plebiscite, the acceptance and care for refugees of all sides and status (including

Kaiser Wilhelm) were good evidences of this legalistic but humanitarian determination.

In May, 1940, there came a rude awakening in the form of German tanks and paratroopers. In a few hours the policies which had been pursued for a century and a half were proven to be ineffective. Peace with neighbors proved to be impossible when these neighbors turned out to be less legalistic and obedient to international law than the cool, rational Dutch. With the revolutionary changes wrought in the political geography by the advent of air power and total warfare, there seemed to be a drastic need to re-evaluate the tradition of going-it-alone.

Particularly when it became clear that the "defeat" of Germany only slightly solved external dangers to the kingdom new decisions were called for. With the realization of the threat posed to democracy by the objectives and policies of the Soviet Union neutrality became impossible. The choice in this major struggle for the security of the home country was clearcut even though certain conflicts of interests in other parts of the empire were unavoidable. Dirk Stikker, the Foreign Minister of The Netherlands, made it quite clear to the States-General on February 4, 1949, that American policies with regard to Indonesia and Germany would have to be overlooked for the greater interest of the collective security of The Netherlands, which could only be safeguarded by the United States.<sup>255</sup>

The combination of a basic agreement on democratic principles and a realization of common security needs made for a rather sound basis for friendship and tolerance. There always remain, however, possibilities

---

<sup>255</sup>Proceedings of the Estates-General, Second Chamber, 1949, p. 1182.

for defection from the general line of United States policy objectives. These possibilities may well lie in incidental areas and field of political activity, as well as in a composite resultant such as neutralism in the context of a Third or Fourth Bloc. An examination of several aspects of Dutch foreign policy may reveal such possibilities and/or tendencies. For these purposes the following areas will be considered: United Nations, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, European cooperation, and trade relations with the United States.

#### United Nations

Even though the Dutch government had some substantial objections against the predominant role of the big powers as provided for in the proposed charter, they decided to give full support to the principle of universal cooperation.<sup>256</sup> To a small nation co-operative security arrangements as were envisioned under the United Nations charter are a vital necessity, because they make it possible for a nation to avoid alliances with any particular powers or bloc.

It became clear in 1947, however, that the Big Four were unable to keep the United Nations Security Council operative. The Soviet Union also refused co-operation in the recovery plans for the European continent. At these symptoms the Dutch were ready to adjust their policies to the realities of the world scene.<sup>257</sup> The adherence to the Brussels Pact on March 17, 1948, reflected such an adjustment, as Great Britain, France,

---

<sup>256</sup>See S.I.P. van Campen, The Quest for Security (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1958), pp. 15-22.

<sup>257</sup>Ibid., pp. 57-61.

Belgium, The Netherlands and Luxembourg concluded a 50-year alliance against armed attack on Europe and established the Western European Union.

Although the Dutch government began to take sides in certain problem areas, it did not abandon the United Nations organization as an idealistic but futile attempt at security. The organization's potential as a mechanism for the peaceful settlement of international conflict and as a means for the defense against injustice and aggression, kept the Dutch highly interested in its achievements. The following may exemplify that interest.

When North Korea invaded the territory of South Korea the Dutch government supported President Truman's initiative. Public opinion seemed to support the government's stand wholeheartedly. The Netherlands Institute for Public Opinion found that on September 16, 1950, sixty-three per cent of their respondents agreed with United States policy in Korea. Only fourteen per cent found the action wrong and twenty-three per cent gave no opinion.<sup>258</sup>

Even after the rather unsuccessful first nine months of the "police action", when the Dutch people seemed to favor appeasement (65%)<sup>259</sup>, there still persisted in basic agreement with the United Nations having entered the conflict.<sup>260</sup> The Dutch participated in the action

---

<sup>258</sup>In that same poll 50% of the respondents declared themselves against sending Dutch draftees and official contingents, with 30% favoring such action and 20% having no opinion. This reluctance probably resulted from war fatigue (draftees had just returned from duty in Indonesia).

<sup>259</sup>In week from April 14th through 20th, 1951.

<sup>260</sup>In week from July 16th through 23rd, 1951. However, at this time, a great number of respondents expressed "no opinion" (37%).

itself by the sending of volunteer contingents and naval units.

Another example of Dutch concern for the effectiveness of the United Nations is the government's policy as regards organization membership for the government of the Chinese People's Republic. Particularly since the Korean War Dutch policy on this question has been clear and definite. Moral considerations as well as the awareness of the legal complications that would arise with regard to the government which should be recognized to represent the permanent member China, have left no doubt in the mind of public officials and people. In January, 1959, the Dutch -with the American people- were the only ones of fourteen publics polled where a majority expressed themselves against admission of Red China. Sixty-three per cent of the American respondents objected, compared with 51% of the respondents in The Netherlands.

In the area of disarmament the Dutch government has consistently stressed the need for deliberations both in and outside the United Nations. At the same time, there exists perfect agreement with the United States point of view that adequate controls need to be worked out and agreed upon before the Western powers can slacken their preparedness.<sup>261</sup>

On these questions and many other less controversial ones the Dutch government and people have stood with the United States in its policies in the United Nations.

---

<sup>261</sup>For example, see the speech made by the Dutch ambassador to the United Nations, Dr. C. W. A. Schurmann on October 23, 1959, at the occasion of the disarmament debate which resulted in the 10-nation Geneva Conference (Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant, October 25, 1959).

## North Atlantic Treaty Organization

The desire to co-operate with the United States became essentially evident when the Netherlands joined the North Atlantic Treaty. In spite of the fact that this pact was a natural consequence of the Brussels agreement, serious questions were raised by Dutch legislators concerning the wisdom of such a move. Not only were these men worried about problems flowing out of the involvement of the Dutch in Indonesia, but they were particularly adamant of their conviction that the treaty should not turn out to be a mere negative instrument. In the parliamentary debates on the question frequent words of warning were spoken against opportunistic motivations that might underlie the pact, and many members urged that the pact's parties create a concept of Atlantic Community worthy of human faith and defense.<sup>262</sup>

Public opinion seemed to support the government's readiness to participate, and interestingly, it tended to increase with the passing of time. On May 1, 1949, (about three weeks after the treaty was signed) 88% of the respondents said they had heard of the Atlantic Pact, but only 52% thought it to be a good idea, with 7% finding it bad. Considerable doubt was evident from the 31% of the respondents who had no opinion or answer. On a question with more military implications ("Have you heard or read about the arms contingents from America to our country under the Atlantic Pact?") awareness was shown by 78% of the respondents. At that time, about one year after the signing of the Pact, only 45% of the respondents favored these contingents, with 18% against and 37% having

---

<sup>262</sup>Van Campen, p. 116.

no opinion or answer.<sup>263</sup>

In October, 1950, a somewhat different question probed into the public's acquaintance "with organizations founded for the defense for Western Europe". Sixty-six per cent of the respondents admitted acquaintance with these organizations, and 71% of these considered it a good thing that Holland participated. Six months later identical questions brought about almost identical replies. Seventy-three per cent of the respondents considered Dutch participation a good thing at that time, even though they doubted somewhat that this sort of organization really promoted peace. Only 56% felt peace to be promoted against 64% holding that opinion in October, 1950. In spite of this change in expectation great confidence was expressed in the United States -Netherlands partnership.

Undoubtedly minor conflicts in the North Atlantic Organization were inevitable. Controversies arose over such issues as: the financial strain on the Dutch economy because of heavy armament commitments; Dutch insistence on the maintaining of its naval traditions and specialization; Dutch insistence that equipment orders also be placed in Holland; requests for additional defense support aid in order that heavy commitments might be met; and demands that the defense of the Low Countries be pledged by the United States.

When in 1953 an attempt was made to create a common European army under the European Defense Community agreement the Dutch were the

---

<sup>263</sup>Interviews were conducted in the week from March 13 through 20, 1950.



first to amend their constitution to fit the new design. Quickly allowances were made for the supranational features of the agreement.<sup>264</sup> On January 21, 1954, the Dutch were the first to complete unequivocal ratification.<sup>265</sup> When the French asked for a re-study of the defense community plans the Dutch stuck with their previous refusals to water down the proposals.<sup>266</sup>

The question of German sovereignty and rearmament under the North Atlantic Treaty was faced by the Dutch as a result of the Paris Pact of October, 1954. After some intensive debates the Dutch Estates-General agreed with the desirability of West-German's admission to the organization.<sup>267</sup> On this question, as well as all other major international commitments, the negative voters were mainly the Communist members or the staunch nationalists in the national legislature.

Even though full cooperation was afforded with the broad objectives of United States policy in the Atlantic Pact, there still remained the question of the role played by the small partners in the alliance. The 1958 Spaak Report which suggested improved consultation on global matters which fall outside the proper jurisdiction of the treaty was heartily endorsed by the Dutch government.<sup>268</sup> The desires of the smaller countries to bring about positive measures toward the establish-

<sup>264</sup>New York Times, December 3, 1953.

<sup>265</sup>Ibid., January 21, 1954.

<sup>266</sup>Ibid., August 17, 1954.

<sup>267</sup>Ibid., March 31, 1955.

<sup>268</sup>Ibid., November 21, 1958.

ment of an Atlantic Community and their fear of being used by the United States for the defense of the Western Hemisphere present continuing possibilities for rifts in the treaty organization. Nevertheless, the Dutch seem to be committed and willing to stay a member as long as the need for collective security persists.

### European Cooperation

Even though some American strategists may begin to doubt the desirability of European integration, especially as it seems to create an opening for neutralism, it undoubtedly has been a part of United States policy objectives for Western Europe.

The Dutch government has gone clearly on record as favoring certain forms of cooperation and union. The Benelux union and the Organization for European Economic Cooperation were the first symptoms. When the Schuman Plan was submitted to the national legislature for its approval, all the major parties in the Second Chamber united again in their awareness for the need of European cooperation. Haas refers to Holland as the only country with a distinct common "European outlook" among the many and varied groupings within its population.<sup>269</sup>

With the erection of the Common Market the Dutch, disappointed by the fact that only six nations were willing to take this step (the members of the Coal and Steel Community) became determined to attempt to bridge the gap between the "Inner Six" and the "Outer Seven". The proposals of the Dutch Foreign Minister, Luns, to have the European Free

---

<sup>269</sup>Ernst B. Haas, The Uniting of Europe (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958), pp. 149-150.

Trade Association members adjust their tariffs to the 20% reduction anticipated by the Common Market members, and the latter would allow these reduced tariffs also for third parties, was received well by the United States Department of State.<sup>270</sup> Even though an immediate solution has not been forthcoming, the Dutch seem to be thoroughly aware of the interests of the United States, and can be expected to follow their continuous attempts toward reconciliation.

The projected Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, which was negotiated in the summer and fall of 1960 (and approved for ratification by the United States Senate on March 16, 1961) has also received the full cooperation of the Dutch government.<sup>271</sup>

#### Bilateral Diplomacy Between Netherlands and United States

Direct negotiations between the governments of the two countries have been primarily concerned -since World War II- with three major issues: co-operation in President Eisenhower's "Atoms for Peace" program, the concluding of a treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation, and landing rights for the Royal Dutch Airlines.

The first matter was negotiated and successfully concluded during 1955 and 1956. Under this agreement The Netherlands would be provided with a small quantity of U-235 for uses in scientific research into the peaceful uses of atomic energy.<sup>272</sup>

<sup>270</sup>Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant, November 26, 1959.

<sup>271</sup>See speech by Queen Juliana, at the occasion of the opening of the session of Parliament, on September 20, 1960 (New York Times, September 21, 1960).

<sup>272</sup>New York Times, June 23, 1956.

Since the Second World War the United States government has been negotiating new amity treaties with many former and new friends. In March, 1957, the sixth in this series was negotiated with the government of the Netherlands. As the other treaties of its sort it sought to promote economic relations between the countries as well as economic life and prosperity inside the signatory nations.<sup>273</sup>

Although some debate developed concerning the clause of the treaty dealing with the rights and privileges of the citizens of the contracting parties, final parliamentary approval was given. Ratification was opposed primarily by the Communist delegates and the delegates of a rather theocratic splinter party (staatskundig Gereformeerde Partij).<sup>274</sup>

The problem of obtaining landing rights for the Royal Dutch Airlines has been somewhat more complicated. In this area of specific rights of commerce and navigation certain established interests in the United States have been trying to keep the Dutch company's competitiveness to a bare minimum. Although landing rights have been acquired for New York, Houston and Miami (for passengers and goods for international traffic only), it has been very difficult to acquire the same rights for the West Coast. The Dutch government and people, especially since the Dutch were the first to request such rights in 1957, have expressed grave disappointment. Their disgust is aggravated by the fact that their application has been passed up for Scandinavian Air Service, British Overseas Airways Corporation and Air France. The latter turn of events led the Second

---

<sup>273</sup>Ibid., March 28, 1957.

<sup>274</sup>Ibid., May 15, 1957.

Chamber to pass a resolution which stated that the attitude of the United States government "does not fit into the relations between allies", a stand never before taken with regard to an ally.<sup>275</sup>

Although there seem to be rather specific, less important areas of disagreement in the relations between the United States and The Netherlands, the over-all characterization of their political relations could be called "very good". It seems that most of the minor disagreements have occurred in spheres where there is expected incompatibility of interests. These incompatibilities are hard to explain away. Efforts to explain them are often futile and merely tend to aggravate points of conflict. As mentioned before, it is therefore the policy of the United States Information Service to tread lightly or not at all in these sensitive areas. It must also be understood that the Dutch press, which would be receiving any explanations of this sort, is inclined to regard any American discourse on the subject as propaganda.

#### Placement Record of USIS Materials

Any evaluation of the most successful plastics<sup>276</sup> and stories distributed in the context of the regular services of the United States Information Services must be undertaken with a great degree of reserve. It should be pointed out that, in the first place, there does not rest any obligation with the user to give credit to the information services. Secondly, the materials, particularly the stories and releases, can be heavily cut or edited when taken by user. Thirdly, the mailing list of

---

<sup>275</sup>New York Times, February 12, 1960.

<sup>276</sup>Forms for reproduction of photographs in low quality newsprint.

materials is so large that total coverage for evaluation's sake is impossible.

Until the latest major budget cut (1956) rather extensive evaluation was made for Washington. At the present time, such work is being done whenever time allows, which is not frequent, and certainly not with the same degree of thoroughness as before. The sample being covered is composed of most of the general national dailies and weeklies, forty regional and local newspapers, and whatever copies of papers and periodicals are submitted by their publishers to prove use of the service's materials.

#### Plastics

Of the plastics distributed during late September, October and early November, 1959, the most use was made of a combination of pictures of the United Nations. Ten known uses were made of a picture of the line-up of flags at the United Nations building, with ten uses of scenes of United Nations delegates, the General Assembly and the Security Council. This use, falling primarily in the month of October, obviously was coupled with the world-wide observance of United Nations day or week.

The single picture which was used most frequently (sixteen known times) portrayed a sun-furnace discovered and developed by American scientists. A photograph of the modern interior of Convair Aeronautics building did second best, with only eight known uses. A close runner-up was a picture of Hoover Dam, which received seven known uses.

A picture of a parabolic radar antenna was known to be used six times, with five uses known for a view of an irrigation project and the

same score for a portrayal of the new atomic submarine, Skipjack. Aerial re-fueling was the subject of the plastic used that was next in line of success (four known uses).

Ten uses were made of plastics which in one way or another portrayed missiles or missile launchings. A rather curious example of erratic use of the free materials of the United States Information Service, was the reproduction of a plastic which showed a missile on its launching pad at Cape Canaveral. The small town paper has as a caption to this photograph: "It seems easier in Russia to launch a rocket to the moon, than to take the telephone off the hook and bring about an interference-free connection with Moscow" (sic!).

The subject matter of the more successful plastics seems to vary considerably. On the one side it is timely or seasonal (like the United Nations material), on the other, more routine side, the preference seems to lie in the areas of technological or scientific curiosities.

#### Feature Stories

In the observed period of September 15 through November 15, 1959, the most frequent known use was made of a story which appeared in the Labor News Bulletin of August 20, 1959. Fifteen local and regional newspapers (some of which are owned by the same chain) featured all or most of the content of the article, "Radical Changes Coming in American Retail Business". Some newspapers accompanied the story with a supplied picture of vending machines outside a supermarket. One trade magazine (union) used the same story for an over-all known use of sixteen times. Even though the subject matter of this story was interesting, some questions may be

raised about its content or suggested headlining. Beyond the headline quoted above, the secondary headline read "Store Clerks See Vending Machines as a Threat". This secondary headline was used more generally than the first one suggested; and even some turning about was done which made the statement even more worrisome (e.g., "Vending Machines Threaten the Store Clerks").

Content-wise changes could have been made which would have prevented the possibility of leaving a rather negative overtone. It seems that a re-writing of the story so that it would emphasize not so much the labor-frightening, but the labor-benefitting angle of automation, might have been more beneficial. As the story is concluded many questions in the reader's mind -and certainly the questions in the mind of a labor leader who is antagonistic to the free enterprise system- may be left unanswered. Such dissatisfaction of having found the basic issue skirted can even be more damaging than complete silence on the subject.

An article in the Cultural News Bulletin of September 23, 1959, was known to be used the same number of times (sixteen). "America Builds Modern Schools" was used eleven times by local and regional newspapers, by two national newspapers, one Roman Catholic parochial paper, one trade paper and one unidentified publication. Two rather interesting changes were made in the headlines. One paper titled it "America Builds Schools Like Palaces". This does not seem to be too good a title for a people which may be getting restless about their own ability to live on a rather high standard. A second paper used the headline "Also in U.S. Shortage of Classrooms for Increasing Number of Students". This headline seems to



identify commonness of problem and interests; a somewhat more profitable naming than even the one suggested by the Information Service itself.

Third-ranking in popularity among editors was a story and/or pictures of the newly opened Guggenheim Museum, New York City. The Cultural News Bulletin of October 21, 1959, contained this story which by itself or with one of the pictures offered by the information service was used in ten publications. Five local and regional newspapers, one national newspaper and one architectural publication placed this. One trade journal, two local and regional newspapers only used the photographs with appropriate captions. One very influential newspaper ( a national daily) carried its own story with its own pictures, obviously obtained through its American correspondent. All told this story and/or picture(s) was used fourteen times.

A second item which appeared in the same issue of the Cultural Bulletin, "American Plans for Educational Television from Airplanes" also found extensive use. Thirteen known uses were made of it, nine of which were by local and regional papers, four by national dailies. Such an item makes for a rather interesting story which must inspire awe for the imagination, technological skill and gigantic proportions of problems facing American society. But what lasting confidence in America and its cause does such a story inspire? What commonness in interests between the Dutch people and the American people does this establish or identify?

The increasingly American institution of the summer stock theatre was described in a story entitled "In the Summer Tents Replace the Regular Theatre". This Cultural News Bulletin item of September 30, 1959, was

used by nine local and regional newspapers and one religious weekly. Most frequently the story was augmented with the use of photographs supplied -on request - by the Information Service.<sup>277</sup>

"Vegetation Discloses Presence of Mineral Resources" was an item in the News Bulletin of October 6, 1959. Eight local and regional papers and one national paper used this story, which again was quite fascinating (from a scientific point of information).

Equally well placed was a story and/or pictures of a skyscraper just completed in New York City for the Corning Glass Company. The story about the "Skyscraper of Glass" was bound to be popular because of the Dutch people's fascination for the skyscraper as a phenomenon and point of identification.

Somewhat less successful stories dealt with a New York exhibit of children's art, a shortage of manpower threatening China, and telephoning via communication satellites. Many other stories of varying subject matter received lesser placings.

It is interesting to note that among these more successful stories only one -the China story- treated a subject with political implications. All other items were curiosities. The long and/or short range political significance of these items was hard to find.<sup>278</sup>

---

<sup>277</sup>It might be purely accidental, but it might be worth mentioning that Norman Smith, a United States Information Agency's regular contributor, had two stories in the ten most successful items (this story about summer stock and a story in the October 28 issue).

<sup>278</sup>It should be pointed out in all fairness that the political matters were mainly covered in documentary releases, i.e., English or translated versions of official releases, speeches, etc. These cannot, and are not meant to be detected in the writings of the editor of the newspaper or his columnists.

## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was "to formulate and apply a methodology for the study of the effectiveness of the United States Information Services". This purpose was pursued by means of a field study of the American information establishment in The Netherlands. In order to come to a full-scale appreciation of the various facets of the communication process, the subject was approached according to its basic elements: the communication policy, the communicator, the communication, the audience, and the effects of the communication. It was hoped that by regarding these particulars on their own merit, possible patterns of interrelationship would become apparent, and suggestions could be made on the methodology of operation and evaluation.

Conclusions can first be drawn regarding over-all United States communication policy and machinery. In both these areas public officials need to be distinctly aware of the limitations of international communication. Too much should not be expected too soon. Complete conversions to an alien system should not be expected, unless under certain circumstances and over a long period of time. Neither may it be assumed that words can take the place of actions, or that conflicts of interest will dissolve into thin air merely as a result of international communication. Furthermore, a democratic system can not expect to be of single and harmonious voice. These inherent limitations need to be fully understood

and reckoned with in order for a communication program to have the slightest chance at effectiveness.

Even though individual members of Congress -and occasionally Congress as a body- tend to ignore these limitations, policy makers in the executive branch generally seem to have heeded them. Thus, the communication policy toward The Netherlands has been geared primarily to long range objectives. The main emphasis in the program for The Netherlands is placed upon cultural information in order that the Dutch people's understanding of America may increase. Increased understanding of the motivations and interests of the American society will make it easier to explain more immediate American action or lack of action.<sup>279</sup>

Congress, through its budget policies, has compounded the innate difficulties referred to above. The unpredictability of size and continuity of Congressional appropriations and the lack of confidence displayed in cost estimates submitted by information officials have severely handicapped policy planners. When certain areas of the world require immediate attention because of the precarious nature of their political problems the less strategic areas are the first to find their funds cut. Thus, whenever and wherever one looks at the United States Information Service in The Netherlands all evaluations eventually return to comparisons between the days before and those after the 1957 budget cut. With a 50% slicing of the funds in that year the program and the employees hit an all-time

---

<sup>279</sup>In countries where there is much misunderstanding and where there are incompatible interests the accent needs to lie both on long range and short range objectives. The evaluation of the communications carried out under those conditions would require a somewhat different methodology than that suggested in this study.

low in completeness and stability.

So long as the geographic units and media services of the United States Information Agency cannot find Congressional understanding for the needs and vulnerabilities of a consistent and balanced program effectiveness will be impaired.

There are also distinct problems within the Agency itself. Terrible language deficiencies, use of Foreign Service rejects, insufficient preparation in area studies, and a general lack of aptitude to assimilate cause their own particular difficulties. When these basic problems are coupled with policies such as rather common short assignments and frequent transfers, the communicators and their audience have little chance to get to know one another and build ties of confidence.<sup>280</sup>

Doubt may also be expressed about the choice of The Hague as the location for the main facilities of the United States Information Service in The Netherlands. The fact that most of the national dailies and the national radio and television facilities are located in or near Amsterdam does not seem to have made much difference. Similarly irrelevant seems to have been the fact that Amsterdam has two outstanding universities and many other culture centers.

The only advantages of the present location seem to be financial and organizational. Having all diplomatic and information facilities in one and the same building is less expensive and affords more

---

<sup>280</sup>In this respect some improvement has been made in Holland with the assignment of a Public Affairs Officer who is both proficient in the language and customs of the country and people.

opportunity for liaison consultations. The only possible external advantage of the arrangement may have been the assumption that there would be better opportunity for personal contact with Dutch government employees. This assumption might be acceptable in a situation where short range objectives are paramount, i.e., where government employees need to be worked on. In a country which is basically friendly to the United States and where consequently the main objectives are long range and cultural such an assumption is unwarranted.

Some enthusiasts have already been inclined to overrate the potential effectiveness of personal contact work. The differences in personality structures between Europeans and Americans and the tendency of Americans to withdraw into the shell of their secure colonies of fellow countrymen, place tremendous barriers to this medium of communication. Social prestige rankings of the various occupations in Dutch society would seem to suggest that top government employees, and particularly the more sophisticated personnel of the Department for Foreign Affairs, would be most hesitant to associate socially with the "journalists" and "public relations people" from the information service.

Certain obvious differences in social customs tend to lead to first impressions and consequently enforce the stereotype of Americans existing in the minds of many people. In such cases direct personal contact needs to be handled with the utmost care. Only when there is prolonged opportunity for contact and explanation of differences is there any promise of positive effect. The policy -referred to above- of making short assignments seems to be in direct contradiction to the Agency's urging for more personal contact work. The comparative quality of the

personnel making the contacts and those being contacted presents additional problems. Consequently, the direct personal contact assumption seems somewhat inadequate.

Some observations should be made concerning the organizational structure of the United States Information Service as the agency handling cultural relations and information. It was rightly suggested in the Hickenlooper Report that some benefit might be derived from a type of autonomous semi-public organization as the British have in their British Council.<sup>281</sup> Such an establishment may receive a much warmer welcome among the elite and be much less obtrusive than the obviously government-sponsored program which will always have the stigma of being propagandistic. It seems that in countries like Holland where the information program is mainly cultural in intent and content such an arrangement would be most beneficial.<sup>282</sup>

Several observations may be made with regard to the format and content of the United States' communications with the Dutch people. Most of the materials are distinctly too closely patterned after materials supplied by Washington for distribution all over the world. This method of composition and presentation allows for little direct identification with the communication audience. Merely translating materials into the appropriate language without making additional direct and indirect ad-

<sup>281</sup>Hickenlooper Report, p. 107.

<sup>282</sup>The British Council in The Netherlands finds its library catalogued in the Central Catalogue of the Royal Library, while the United States Information Service is frequently characterized as a tourist office or commercial information center for Dutch exporters.

justments in symbols employed creates distinct problems in communication.

The tremendous differences between ways in which different peoples identify their own interests and the interests of other countries need more exact analysis. The common use of the basic symbols of the printed word has tended to make professional communicators overlook the more delicate, but more strategic semantic differences. It is in the latter area that one finds the most common occurrences of misunderstanding.

Even though these simplifications in method and format of communications are logical consequences of the Agency's limited financial resources and lack of well-trained manpower, these causations do not minimize the harmful or ineffective use of these appropriation dollars. It seems much more advisable to improve quality and decrease quantity than to feel oneself bound to do everything with nothing.

Rather effective work seems to have been done through the seminar or study conference abroad. The Salzburg seminars for the scholars, the specific seminars for journalists, and the study conferences to prepare exchange teachers for their stay in the United States seem to be most promising in their positive effect. Obviously, the success or failure of these seminars and conferences hinges upon the quality of its personnel. Consequently, much depends upon the availability of talents from outside the embassy or Agency.

Although the basic philosophy of American information personnel seems to have been to provide primarily "service" rather than to conduct intensive campaigns, it is questionable whether the choice is limited to these dichotomous extremes. It appears that the "service"



responsibility is inevitable as long as wire services need to have their content augmented or corrected, and as long as the information service will remain so obviously available. Spontaneous requests for information or materials by legitimate parties should not be discouraged.

However, it seems appropriate and profitable to innovate more schematic emphasis on certain themes and/or institutions that require clarification. When it was found, for instance, that the Dutch people have distinct apprehensions about the racial problem, some definite planning should have taken place. Regular treatment of the subject should have been planned, to be carried out either ceaselessly or at staggered intervals. There are many angles to the problem which have never occurred to the Dutch people, or which have never been given the least intelligent explanation. For instance, the story behind the development of the plantation economy of the early South and the political factors underlying the continued inferior position of the Negro, in spite of Fourteenth Amendment and Reconstruction, will help many to appreciate the present problem. At the same time attention needs to be given to the problems of the Negro who migrated to the North, and the experiences of the Northerners with immigrant stocks concentrated in their cities. On top of that, nobody can see the current problem intelligently without some understanding of the American federal system. Explanations of this sort can not be left for the crucial moments when the news wires are filled with stories about Little Rock, New Orleans or Montgomery.

Such directed schematic communication may best be carried through a filmstrip and textbook program. Young people in elementary and secondary schools can easily be introduced to the various problems of American

society. Students who will not get an education beyond elementary school will have been exposed and will become a possible hard core for a favorable and understanding general public opinion.

Those young people who will pursue more formal education, including future prep school and university students, will be better prepared for more mature discussion of these topics in later grades. In the later years of college preparatory training, for instance, principles of democratic ideology and the problems inherent in the democratic system can be coupled to these discussions. Thus, the more advanced students - the future leadership- can become aware of the basic motivations behind the American federal system and the attempted protection of the rights of all minorities.

If there are opportunities for placement of such materials these planned corrections of misunderstandings of areas of ignorance could also be communicated through especially prepared television programs or documentary motion pictures.

Planned approaches do not need to turn out to be propagandistic in the more negative sense of the term. In the whole area of cultural information the approach needs to be most subtle and most carefully designed in order not to sound self-righteous or superior. Such carefulness in approach as suggested here does not necessarily preclude the desirability of planned, positive operation.

Merely having on file a pamphlet on the Negro in American society and sending this out to interested parties does not combat misunderstanding. This is "service" but such "service" in most cases will only reinforce the already favorably disposed or otherwise fill the waste paper basket and

aggravate the more suspicious recipients. Even though, as was suggested above, the "service" responsibility is somewhat inevitable and financial limitations tend to confine the information program to these proportions, it does not serve any policy purpose. The real effectiveness of an information begins only when the communication effort can be expanded beyond the mere maintenance of a service establishment. Congress needs to become alert to this fact and the Information Agency's leadership should persist in attempting to get the most effective service out of the appropriations dollar. Mere spite against the lack of Congressional understanding and appreciation for international communication as an effective method of policy only undermines the little potential afforded the information program.

Since the United States Information Service does not have a monopolistic position in the field of news distribution and other areas of basis "service", other avenues should be found where a certain degree of monopoly can be created. The Information Service's cooperation with Dutch television programmers is a good example of successful attempts to do this. There might also be a possibility of using the comic book format of publication for the less educated segments of the Dutch population.

Other possibilities for methods of communication with the Dutch people may become evident from the analysis in Chapter IV. Even though no distinct studies are as yet available on communication and power structures in The Netherlands, certain conclusions can be suggested. In the first place, it appears that the prolific categorization of Dutch society would facilitate more selective communication methods. Dutchmen

frequently characterize themselves as "joiners" and call their country "a country of associations" (verenigingsland). Even though these socializing tendencies do not match the American pattern, nevertheless, some tremendous opportunities exist to reach specific audiences. Such selective and specific approaches would make it possible to use symbols, techniques or vehicles of communication that would be most effective for the particular groups.

For example, distinct attention needs to be paid to ways of approaching the more strategic elements among the nation's university students. Even though the less educated, organized in trade unions, have had considerable political influence in recent years, the educated element of the population has an unusual amount of social prestige and political power. The increasing technological and administrative development of Dutch society will certainly result in the increasing necessity of a college education for those aspiring to become professional managers.

The specialization of the university curricula will make it possible to direct communication efforts to the particular fields of specialists. For instance, as was shown, the foreign affairs elite will probably persist in being derived from the fields of law and economics of such universities as Leiden, Utrecht, Amsterdam (Municipal) and the Rotterdam School of Economics. Even though a rather extensive degree of understanding and sympathy for America was found with these young people, there always will remain areas needing enlightenment.

Other elements of the population that have their own peculiar significance in the political structure of the nation can be reached by media particularly identified with them.. Active politicians can be

reached through De Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant and the paper (s) of their religious or ideological group. Managerial personnel in business and employers' organizations are accessible through the daily Algemeen Handelsblad and the weekly Elsevier's Weekblad. These publications tend to rely greatly upon their own correspondents and the British news agency, Reuters, and thus have little direct use for the materials commonly found in the information service's New Bulletin. Thus, particular ways need to be employed of placing materials or giving aid to these media.

Rural religious elements can be reached rather effectively through periodicals, i.e., family periodicals as well as religious ones. Their particular symbols and tastes can be dealt with rather directly through materials especially prepared for them.

The more urban electorate in the Western provinces is best covered through national daily tabloids such as Nieuws van de Dag, De Telegraaf, Algemeen Dagblad, Het Vrije Volk and Het Parool. More specific groups within the urban electorate as well as the general electorate can be approached even more specifically through their own opinion dailies and weeklies.

The women in Holland can be influenced through the ladies journals. The value of placing fiction stories in these periodicals can not be overestimated. By doing that, the women may satisfy their thirst for romantic stories while simultaneously obtaining more balanced information about the American people and their way of life. Many of the fiction stories carried by these periodicals today have been written by American writers and have frequently appeared first in American women's magazines.

Normally these stories are merely translated with no substantial adjustments having been made in terminology or points of identification. As such they tend to reinforce and aggravate certain already unfortunate misconceptions.

The younger, less-educated urban element is most accessible through the commercial movie theatres. It is therefore imperative that the American movie industry find additional ways of screening movies that are suitable for export. In addition, the practice of block-booking of government (or semi-public) movies along with commercial feature films may be possible. Such a method does not necessarily need to be government imposed. In fact, it would be distinctly preferable if the movie exporters would devote part of their profits to the manufacture and distribution of good, specifically directed materials. If ethical or ideological motivations may be lacking, the movie industry may consider its future markets in areas estranged from the United States and the democratic way of life.

Promotion by the United States government of the idea of an all-European television news service might also provide great opportunities for dissemination of American information. The facilitating of exchange visits of television news personnel so that Europeans may study the ways and means of American networks may have great benefit. Not only would these individuals gain technical know-how but they would probably also, by habit and taste, develop a preference for the use of American materials. Thus, the quality of American news on European television may be improved and increased.

Through all these suggestions and evaluations it should remain

clear that the basic choice to receive the communication and how to perceive it remains with the individual members of the communication audience. The realization of this basic fact will place into proper perspective the relative importance of the stereotype or image the Dutch people have of America and Americans. Not only is the image -in its totality- of importance, but especially important is that part of the image which is called the pre-conception. This pre-conception is formed within the context of one's societal environment and at an early age particularly. It appears that the United States Information Service should find its special opportunities in this area.

The immediate perception of word or action by American communicators tends to be conditioned by this preconception as well as by the circumstances under which the communication occurs. The actions of the United States or Americans in the area of military, economic or political policy methods create the environment in which the preconception conditions the image of America held at that particular moment. Modulations in image may therefore occur in response to these situational factors and their changing nature. Real long range transformations in the pre-conception phase of the image are brought about only by educational, long range activities. Such is the work to be done -and being done today- by the United States Information Service.

From studies of the image held by Dutch prep students certain conclusions may be drawn as to what elements of the pre-conception need correction or development. Areas in which knowledge is lacking include: the American system of government and its political processes; the phi-

losophy and organization of American education; the nature of American society with an emphasis on its heterogeneous population and interests.

Misunderstandings or overemphasis on politically irrelevant characteristics of the American people are exemplified in the identification of America with wealth. The material wealth of American society can not be denied and is rather obvious. However, it might be more advantageous for the discovery of common interests between the Dutch and American peoples if there was less awareness of this fact and greater recall of items such as "belief in human dignity", "freedom" and "responsible leadership".

Most promising are the changes which have come about in the prep school student's awareness of certain American culture objects and culture traits. Particularly, the increase in quantity and quality of recall of geographic features as items of first identifications is most encouraging. It seems that more might be achieved in other categories by the employment of some of the same methods that have been instrumental in bringing about these changes for the better. The geography text distributed to all secondary school geography teachers, the elementary film strip program and the progressive planning of geography teachers' associations can be cited as factors in these changes. There may be similar opportunities for the development of close cooperation with history and civics instructors in order that better materials can be made available for the instruction of American politics. If such an arrangement can be worked out it may be possible that prep school students phrase their identifications of America in somewhat more substantive terms than "jazz" and "movies".



Areas of irritation and admiration give additional information as to strength or weakness in the Dutch image of America. The most worrisome element is the sensitivity for the Negro problem. Admiration was expressed most strongly for the rather positive features of technological development and imaginative foreign policies (e.g., the Marshall Plan).

Distinct problems exist in the area of explanations of current policies. It appears as if a two-fold approach may serve best here. In the first place, as is being done now, the information service may make available all the current facts involved in the particular policy. Secondly, the policy can be placed in its proper perspective. For instance, resumption of nuclear testing should be emphatically tied up with the problem of inspection of Russian testing and the possible backlog of development research that might result in relative backwardness of American tactical weapons. In addition to this rational explanation a complete and elaborate citation should be made of the historical record of secret Soviet testing and the caution with which Russian promises and treaties need to be viewed.

Mere brief announcements of policy, therefore, are just as unsatisfactory as complete silence on the matter. The greatest aid to Dutch communicators may well lie in sound background material that tends to set the record straight without appearing to be propagandistic.

Supplying of this sort of information -as was suggested before- will not make the Dutch people and officials ignore their own interests. The United States Information Service may, nevertheless, be expected to maintain a favorable image of and understanding for the aspirations of

America and the American people.

The intangible nature of this sort of long range work is complicated by the fact that political sociologists and social psychologists have not yet found conclusive evidences of the tie-in existing between the images held by individuals and groups and their political actions. It seems most acceptable, however, that some degree of relevance or correlation exists. The only problem seems to be the determination of the degree of interrelationship.

The placement record of the United States Information Service's materials (distributed through the Press Section) seems to be most discouraging. It seems to suggest that there is a particular market for curiosity items, and that these items are more apt to be placed by local and regional papers rather than with national dailies or outstanding periodicals.

The readers of the local and regional press subscribe to their local or regional paper in order that the family may be informed on local news and in order that the housewife may receive shopping tips and the unemployed may locate a position through the want ads. Stories about international news or with general international implications in these regional or local papers tend to receive little attention (unless they are written by a well-known local personality). Most families have their national daily for those purposes.

Thus, it may prove to be much more profitable to place complete reliance on a staff of capable writers for the United States Information Service in The Hague who would have a sense of what Dutch quality papers may place and who can approach the Dutch public on their own terms.

The employment of the former foreign news editor of a provincial paper who seems to be doing some of this sort of work is most encouraging. However, it might be advisable to go even much further than that, and drop the habit of translating Washington-written materials.

So far, these conclusions have primarily been content conclusions regarding the operations of the United States Information Service in The Netherlands. The more methodological implications of this study suggest the following conclusions:

1. The method of evaluating the effectiveness of the United States Information Service needs to be adjusted to the communication methods peculiar to the particular locale of evaluation.
2. When an information establishment serves a vital need for short range activity with little opportunity for long range image building, field survey methods with depth interviews are required. These research methods would provide the most direct insight in the effects of short range activity.
3. In situations representing the complete opposite of such short range communication needs, image studies seem to be most helpful, since "before and after" controlled panels can not be employed.

It should be kept in mind, however, that an evaluation of communication activity cannot be limited to the measurement of the effect of the actual communication. The communication is dependent upon the nature of the policy for which it is composed and transmitted. The nature of the organization that facilitates the composition and the transmission has its own peculiar influence upon the communication. None of these factors -severally or in combination- will guarantee effectiveness unless distinct

evaluation is made of the communication audience.

Such an evaluation should take proper notice of the socio-political dynamics by which attitudes are formed and expressed. Of particular importance is the aptitude of the evaluator to detect trends in audience characteristics. Thus, adjustment and periodic re-evaluations will be necessary in order to test trend predictions. This kind of trend awareness in audience analysis will improve the ability of international communicators to do more effective short and long range planning.

All these methodological and operational observations will not touch one of the basic problems underlying the effectiveness of the world-wide communication effort: a lack of motivated and well-trained personnel. The call of public service has not yet been heard clearly enough above the calls of the more lucrative and secure business or professional career. Congress has not yet become sufficiently aware of the training needs of an enterprise as delicate as the American international communication program. The ultimate problem carries back to the American public as a whole. The average American has failed to appraise coolly the nation's responsibility beyond the more spectacular and traditional methods of foreign policy.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Public Documents

- Great Britain. Summary of the Report of the Independent Committee of Enquiry into Overseas Information Services (Miscellaneous No. 12, Command 9138). April 1954.
- Great Britain. Overseas Information Services. White Paper presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, et al. (Command 225). July 1957.
- Great Britain. Overseas Information Services. White Paper presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, et al. (Command 685). March 1959.
- U.S. Advisory Commission on Information. Semi-annual Reports to Congress, Sixth through Eighth. July 1952 - August 1953.
- U.S. Advisory Commission on Information. Annual Reports to Congress, Ninth through Fifteenth. 1954 - 1960.
- U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Government Operations. Establishing United States Information Agency. 83rd Congress, 1st Session, July 15, 1953.
- U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs. United States Information Service in Europe. Report of Special Mundt Committee. 80th Congress, 2nd Session, 1948.
- U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations. The Formulation and Administration of United States Foreign Policy (Brookings Institution), Study No. 9. 86th Congress, 2nd Session, September 1960.
- U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations. Hearings on an Expanded International Information and Education Program. 81st Congress, 2nd Session, 1950.
- U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations. Hearings on United States Information Programs (Hickenlooper Report). 83rd Congress, 1st Session, 1953.
- U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations. United States Information Service in Europe. 80th Congress, 2nd Session, 1948.

U.S. Department of State, International Information Administration. Objectives of United States Information Program. Reply to questions asked by the Honorable Pat McCarran in his letter to the Secretary of State, September 13, 1951.

U.S. Information Agency. Review of Operations, First through Fifteenth, 1953 - 1960.

### Bibliographies

Perusse, Roland I. Bibliography on International Propaganda. Washington: American University (Bureau of Social Science Research), 1957.

Smith, Bruce L., and Smith, Chitra M. International Communication and Public Opinion. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956.

Smith, Chitra, Winograd, Berton and Jwaideh, Alice R. International Communication and Political Warfare. Santa Monica, California: Rand Corporation. 1952.

U.S. Department of State, Library and Reference Division. Overseas Information Program of the United States Government (Bibliography No. 58). Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, February 28, 1951.

### Annuals

Biographic Register of the Department of State and Related Agencies, 1959. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1959.

Gids van het Department van Buitenlandse Zaken en de Buitenlandse Dienst, 1959. The Hague: Staatsdrukkerij, 1959.

The Statesman's Yearbook, 1958. New York: Martin's Press.

United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs. Demographic Yearbook, 1957.

United States Government Organization Manual, 1959. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1959.

### Books

Baechlin, Pater, and Muller-Strauss, Maurice. Newsreels Across the World. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1952.

- Barrett, E.W. Truth Is Our Weapon. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1953.
- Bendix, Reinhard, and Lipset, S.M. (ed.). Class, Status and Power. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1953.
- Berelson, Bernard (ed.). Reader in Public Opinion and Communication. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1950.
- Brookings Institution. The Administration of Foreign Affairs and Overseas Operations. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1951.
- Burnham, James (ed.). What Europe Thinks of America. New York: John Day Company, 1953.
- Buchanan, William, and Cantril, Hadley. How Nations See Each Other. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1954.
- Buck, Phillip W., and Travis, Martin B. Control of Foreign Relations in Modern Nations. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1957.
- Campen, S.I.P. van. The Quest for Security: Some Aspects of Netherlands Foreign Policy, 1945-1950. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1958.
- Carroll, Wallace, Persuade or Perish. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1948.
- Chorus, A.M.J. Grondslagen der sociale psychologie. Leiden: Stenfert Kroese, 1953.
- Driencourt, Jacques. La propaganda: nouvelle force politique. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1950.
- Dyer, Murray. The Weapon on the Wall. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1959.
- Dijk, K. van. Radio en volksontwikkeling. Assen: van Gorcum, 1953.
- Eysenck, H.J. The Psychology of Politics. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954.
- Haas, Ernst B. The Uniting of Europe. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958.
- Handel, Leo. Hollywood Looks at its Audience. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1950.
- Hart, H.A. 't. Psychologie der internationale betrekkingen. Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1957.

- Heek, F. van, et al. Sociale stijging en daling in Nederland. Leiden: Stenfert Kroese, 1958.
- Hermans, H.G. Overheidsvoorlichting en democratie. Nijmegen: Roman Catholic University, 1949.
- Hollander, A.N.J. den. Het andere volk. Leiden: Sijthoff's, 1946.
- Hovland, Carl I. Communication and Persuasion: Psychological Studies of Opinion Change. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1953.
- Jong, Jelle J. de. Overheid en Onderdaan. Wageningen: Sociaal Economische Boekerij, 1955.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Politieke organisatie in West-Europa na 1800. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1951.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Pressiegroepen. Utrecht: Spectrum, 1959.
- Katz, Daniel (ed.) Public Opinion and Propaganda. New York: Dryden Press, 1954.
- Katz, Elihu, and Lazarsfeld, Paul F. Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1955.
- Keuning, J.J. Mozaiek der functies. The Hague: Leopolds, 1955.
- Klapper, Joseph. The Effects of Mass Media. New York: Columbia University, Bureau of Applied Social Research, 1950.
- Klineberg, Otto. Tensions Affecting International Understanding. New York: Social Science Research Council.
- Kranenburg, R. Politieke organisatie en groep-psychologie. Haarlem: Tjeenk-Oillink, 1956.
- Kuiper, G. Terreinverkenning voor het sociografisch onderzoek naar de sociale afstand tussen leiders en leden. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1954.
- Lakeman, Enid, and Lambert, James D. Voting In Democracies. London: Faber and Faber, 1955.
- Lee, Alfred McClung. How to Understand Propaganda. New York: Rinehart and Company, 1952.
- Lerner, Daniel (ed.). Propaganda in War and Crisis: Materials for American Policy. New York: George W. Stewart, 1951.



- Lewin, Kurt. Resolving Social Conflicts. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948.
- Linton, Ralph (ed.). The Science of Man in the World Crisis. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945.
- Lippman, Walter. Public Opinion. New York: Macmillan, 1922.
- Markel, Lester (ed.). Public Opinion and Foreign Policy. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1949.
- Martin, Leslie J. International Propaganda: Diplomatic and Legal Controls. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958.
- Pool, Ithiel de Sola. Symbols of Internationalism. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1951.
- Prakke, H. J. De groepskrantjes der opkomende voorheede. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1956.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Pers en politieke elite. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1954.
- Raalte, E. van. Het Nederlandse parlement. The Hague: Staatsdrukkerij, 1958.
- Rooij, Maarten. Het dagbladbedrijf in Nederland. Leiden: Stenfert Kroese, 1956.
- Rooij, Maarten (ed.). Ondernemend Nederland. Leiden: Stenfert Kroese, 1959.
- Rose, Arnold. The Roots of Prejudice. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1951.
- Sargent, William. Battle for the Mind. New York: Doubleday, 1957.
- Schlichting, L.G.A., et al. Pers, propaganda en openbare mening. Leiden: Stenfert Kroese, 1956.
- Schramm, Wilbur. Process and Effects of Mass Communication. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1954.
- Schumpeter, Joseph A. Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy. New York: Harpers and Brothers, 1950 (Third edition).
- Siepmann, Charles A. Radio, Television and Society. New York: Oxford University Press, 1950.
- Stanton, Alfred H., and Perry, Stewart E. Personality and Political Crisis.

Stephens, Oren. Facts to a Candid World: America's Overseas Information Program. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955.

Summers, Robert E. America's Weapon of Psychological Warfare. New York: Wilson, 1951.

Thomson, Charles A. H. Overseas Information Service of the United States Government. Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution, 1948.

Toekomst der Nederlandse beschaving. Nijmegen: Het Nationaal Instituut, 1946.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. News Agencies, their Structure and Operation. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1953.

Visson, Andre. As Others See Us. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1948.

Vogelaar, G. A. M. Systematiek en spelregels van de overheidsvoorlichting. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1955.

White, Llewellyn. Peoples Speaking to Peoples. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946.

Williams, Francis. Transmitting World News: A Study of Telecommunications and the Press. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1953.

#### Articles

Barnard, T. L. "Truth, Propaganda and the United States Information Program", United States Department of State Bulletin, XXV (November 26, 1951), 851-4.

Barrett, E. W. "Building a Stronger Voice", The Reporter, XI (October 7, 1954), 27.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Expanding Techniques for a Truth Strategy", United States Department of State Bulletin, XXIII (July 17, 1950), 103-6.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Forging a Free World with a Truth Campaign", United States Department of State Bulletin, XXIII

\_\_\_\_\_ and Bernays, E. L. "How Should the United States Tell Its Story Overseas?", Foreign Policy Bulletin, XXXII (August 15, 1953), 4-6.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Stressing Information Themes to Meet Changing World Conditions". United States Department of State Bulletin, XXIV (January 1, 1951), 13-5.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "United States Informational Aims in the Cold War", United States Department of State Bulletin, XII (June 19, 1950), 992-5.
- Begg, J. M. "American Idea: Package It for Export", United States Department of State Bulletin, XXIV (March 12, 1951), 409-12.
- Belson, ". A. "Measuring the Effects of Television", Public Opinion Quarterly, XXII (Spring 1958), 11-8.
- Bernays, E. L. "Unpopularity is Unnecessary", Saturday Review, XXXVIII (September 17, 1955), 11-2.
- Bernard, Prince. "Minds Across the Atlantic". Delta, September 1959, 19-25.
- Berrol, Edward, and Holmes, Olive. "Survey and Area Approaches to International Communication Research". Public Opinion Quarterly, XVI (Winter 1952-1953), 567-578.
- Block, R. "Propaganda as an Instrument of Foreign Policy". United States Department of State Bulletin, XXII (June 19, 1950), 987-992.
- Boer, J. de, and Cameron, Phil. "Dutch Radio: The Third Way". Journalism Quarterly, XXXII (Winter 1955), 62-70.
- Bogart, Leo. "Measuring the Effectiveness of an Overseas Information Campaign: A Case Story". Public Opinion Quarterly, XIX (Winter 1955-1956), 369.
- "Booming Holland". Fortune. L (August 1954), 60.
- Brandenburg, C. W. C. L. "The Place of the Weekly Press in Dutch Advertising". World Press News, ILV (March 23, 1951), 1, ii and vii.
- Brecker, Richard L. "Truth as a Weapon of the Free World". The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCLXXVIII (November 1951), 1-11.
- Bruijn, G. de. "Filmpropaganda voor paraatheid". Mens en Maatschappij, XXXI, 274-282.
- Buchanan, William. "How Others See Us". The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXCV (September 1954), 1-11.
- Butcher, M. "National Traits in Movies", Commonweal, LXVIII (August 22, 1958), 513-6.
- Carroll, Ronald. "Selecting Motion Pictures for the Foreign Market", Journal of Marketing, XVII (October 1952), 162-171.

- Catlin, George. "Propaganda and the Cold War", Yale Review, XLIII, 103-116.
- Compton, Wilson. "Crusade of Ideas", United States Department of State Bulletin, XXVII (September 8, 1952), 343-8.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Information and United States Foreign Policy", United States Department of State Bulletin, XXVIII (February 16, 1953), 252-6.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Organization for International Information", United States Department of State Bulletin, XXVI (March 24, 1952), 443-7.
- Davison, W. Phillips. "The Role of Research in Political Warfare". Journalism Quarterly, XXIX (Winter 1952), 18-30.
- Dean, Vera Micheles. "What Should the United States Information Policy Try to Do?", Foreign Policy Bulletin, XXIX (March 31, 1950), 3-4.
- Douglas, K. "As Others See United States". Yale French Studies, XV (1955), 129-136.
- Dijk, K. van. "Omroepwetenschap". Mens en Maatschappij, XXIX (1954), 2.
- Eisenstadt, S. N. "Communications Systems and Social Structure". Public Opinion Quarterly, XIX (Summer 1955), 153-167.
- Farrell, J. T. "People to People Program Incorporated", Antioch Review, XVII (Spring 1957), 82-93.
- Fisk, Marjorie, and Lowenthal, Leo. "Some Problems in the Administration of International Communications Research". Public Opinion Quarterly, XVI (Summer 1952), 149.
- Fitzpatrick, Dick. "America's Campaign of Truth Throughout The World", Journalism Quarterly, XXVIII (Winter 1951), 3-14.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Timing in Propaganda Research", Public Opinion Quarterly, XV (Winter 1951), 578-580.
- Freymond, Jacques. "America in European Eyes", The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXCV (September 1954), 33-41.
- Garceau, O. "Research in the Political Process", American Political Science Review, XLV (March 1951), 69-85.
- Glaser, William A. "Semantics of the Cold War". Public Opinion Quarterly, XX (Winter 1956-1957), 691-716.

- Gosnell, H. J., and David, M. C. "Public Opinion Research in Government". American Political Science Review, XLIII (May 1949), 564-572.
- Harris, Reed. "United States Information Program at Home and Abroad", United States Department of State Bulletin, LXXII (December 22, 1952), 971, 975-9.
- Huizinga, J. H. "Foreign Policy and Propaganda". Fortnightly, CLXIV (December 1945), 372-8.
- Hoyt, Palmer. "Getting the Real Story Across". Saturday Review, XXXVIII (September 17, 1955), 15-6.
- Hyman, H. H., and Sheatsley, P. B. "Some Reasons Why Information Campaigns Fail: Psychological Barriers". Public Opinion Quarterly, XI (Fall 1947), 412-423.
- Isaacs, Harold R. "World Affairs and United States Race Relations: A Note on Little Rock". Public Opinion Quarterly, XXII (Fall 1958), 364-370.
- Jonge, Wim de. "Forecasting in Holland", Public Opinion Quarterly, XVI (Spring 1952), 71.
- Katz, Elihu. "The Two-Step Flow of Communication: An Up-to-Date Report on an Hypothesis". Public Opinion Quarterly, XXI (Spring 1957), 61-78.
- Kaufman, H. J. "Implications of Domestic Research for International Communication Research". Public Opinion Quarterly, XVI (Winter 1952-1953), 552-560.
- Klapper Joseph T., and Lowenthal, Leo. "Contributions of Opinion Research to the Evaluation of Psychological Warfare". Public Opinion Quarterly, XV (Winter 1951-1952), 651-662.
- Klapper Joseph T. "What We Know About the Effects of Mass Communication". Public Opinion Quarterly, XXI (Winter 1957-1958), 453-474.
- Krock, Arthur. "Why We Are Losing The Psychological War". New York Times Magazine, (December 8, 1957), 12, 91, 94-5
- Kruglak, F. E. "Foreign News at Wholesale". Nation, CLXXXV (December 21, 1957), 473-5.
- Krugman, H. E. "Measurement of Resistance to Propaganda". Human Relations, VIII (1955), 175-184.
- Kruijt, J. P. "Sociologische beschouwing over zuilen en verzuiling". Socialisme en Democratie, 1957 (No. 1), 28-9.

- Kumata, Hideya, and Schramm, Wilbur. "A Pilot-Study of Cross-Cultural Meaning". Public Opinion Quarterly, XX (Spring 1956), 229.
- Lasky, Victor. "Can Propaganda Make Friends?". Saturday Review, XXXVIII (September 17, 1955), 19-20, 48-9.
- Lee, Alfred M. "Analysis of Propaganda". American Journal of Sociology, LI (September 1945), 126-135.
- Lerner, Daniel. "World Imagery and American Propaganda Strategy". Columbia Journal of International Affairs. V (Spring 1951), 25-6.
- McCormack, T. H. "Motivation and Role of a Propagandist". Social Forces, XXX (May 1952), 388-394.
- Markel, Lester. "If We Are To Win the Colder War". New York Times Magazine, (July 13, 1958), 7, 44, 46, 48.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Much Foreign News Not Understandable to Average Reader". World Press News, XLIX (May 22, 1953), 14.
- Merson, Martin. "My Education in Government". The Reporter. XI (October 7, 1954), 15.
- Molnar, T. "America's Image Abroad". Commonweal, LXIX (January 16, 1959), 403-5.
- Mundt, Karl. "We Are Losing the War of Words in Europe". New York Times Magazine, (November 9, 1947), 11.
- Nathan, R. S. "American Magazines for Export". Antioch Review, VII (March 1947), 3-16.
- Newman, Richard T. "Propaganda: An Instrument of Foreign Policy". Columbia Journal of International Affairs. V (Spring 1951), 56-64.
- Nijhoff, P. H. "Enkele notities betreffende het volkskarakter". Mens en Mattschappij, XXXI (September/October 1956), 265-274.
- Padover, Saul K. "Psychological Warfare and Foreign Policy". American Scholar, XX (April 1951), 151-161.
- Reinders, Jan. "De radio in Nederland". Het Gemenebest, XIII (March 1953), 287.
- Rokkan, S. "Party Preferences and Opinion Patterns in Western Europe". International Social Science Bulletin, VII (1956), 575-596.
- Rosten, Leo C. "Movies and Propaganda". The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCLIC (November 1947), 116-124.

Saenger, Gerhart, and Flowerman, Samuel. "Stereotypes and Prejudicial Attitudes". Human Relations, VII (1954), 217-238.

Sargeant, Howland H. "Overt International Information and Educational Exchange Program of the United States". United States Department of State Bulletin, XXVI (March 31, 1952), 483-9.

Schneider, J. G. "Why We Are Losing the Propaganda War", Nation, CLXXXVI (March 1, 1958), 182-4.

Schneider, Maarten. "Amerika's psychologische strategie na 1945". Internationale Spectator, VIII (June 8, 1954), 361-376.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Some Aspects of the Netherlands Daily Press". Journalism Quarterly, XXXIV (Winter 1957), 74-6.

Schramm, Wilbur. "Twenty Years of Journalism Research", Public Opinion Quarterly, XXI (Summer 1957), 91-107.

Scott, William A. "Correlates of International Attitudes". Public Opinion Quarterly, XXII (Winter 1959), 464-472.

Settel, Arthur. "Propaganda's Diminishing Returns". Saturday Review, XLI (June 28, 1958), 25.

Smith, A. W., Jr. "United States Information Films". Saturday Review, XXXVII (April 17, 1954), 21.

Smith, Bruce L. "Trends in Research in International Communication and Opinion". Public Opinion Quarterly, XX (Spring 1956), 182-195.

Solow, Herbert. "The Dutch Get Private Dollars". Fortune, L (September 1954), 128-140, 186-192.

Speier, Hans. "Future of Psychological Warfare". Public Opinion Quarterly, XII (Spring 1948), 5-18.

Spitzer, H. M. "Presenting America in American Propaganda". Public Opinion Quarterly, XI (Summer 1947), 213-221.

Streibert, Theodore C. "Public Relations Report from Abroad." Public Relations Journal, XI (January 1955), 9.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Soil of Freedom". United States Department of State Bulletin, XXX (February 8, 1954), 203-7.

Tijmstra, L. F., and Gaspard, Armand. "La diffusion des opinions dans la presse: Les exemples hollandais et suisses". Gazette, IV, 165-178.

Wanger, Walter F. "Donald Duck and Diplomacy". Public Opinion Quarterly, XIV (Fall 1950), 443-452.

- Ward, Barbara. "Report to Europe on America". New York Times Magazine, (June 20, 1954), 7.
- White, Ralph. "The New Resistance to International Propaganda". Public Opinion Quarterly, XVI (Winter 1952-1953), 539-551.
- Whitton, John B. "Propaganda in Cold Wars". Public Opinion Quarterly, XV (Spring 1951), 142-4.
- Wiebe, G. D. "Merchandising Commodities and Citizenship on Television". Public Opinion Quarterly, XV (Winter 1951-1952), 679-691.
- Willemsen, J.M.M. "Opinion Weeklies in The Netherlands Differ From Other Countries". World Press News, XLV (March 23, 1951), vi.
- Wilson, Elmo C. "Adapting Probability Sampling to Western Europe". Public Opinion Quarterly, XIV (Summer 1950), 215-223.
- Woodhouse, C.M. "Attitude of North Atlantic Treaty Organization Members toward United States". World Politics, X (January 1958), 202-218.
- Zutphen, H. J. van. "Sociologie van de film". Gereformeerd Sociologisch Instituut Nieuws, III (1957), 1-11.

#### Statistical Studies and Reports

- Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek. Inkomenverdeling 1955. Zeist: W. de Haan, 1959.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Radio en vrije-tijds besteding. Zeist: W. de Haan, 1954.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Statistiek der verkiezingen, Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal. Zeist: W. de Haan, 1957.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Statistisch Zakboek, 1958. Zeist: W. de Haan, 1958.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Zestig jaren statistiek en tijdreeksen, 1899-1959. Zeist: W. de Haan, 1959.
- De Nederlandse Kiezer. The Hague: Staatsdrukkerij, 1956.
- Nederlandse Stichting voor de Statistiek. Televisie in Nederland (contracted by Graetz). The Hague: Nederlandse Stichting voor de Statistiek, 1957.
- Vademecum van een aantal marktanalytische gegevens van Nederland. The Hague: Centraal Bureau voor Conunranten Publiciteit, 1951.



Pamphlets

International Press Institute. Flow of the News. Zurich: International Press Institute, 1953.

\_\_\_\_\_. Government Pressures on the Press. Zurich: International Press Institute, 1955.

\_\_\_\_\_. Improvement of Information. Zurich: International Press Institute, 1952.

Netherlands Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Herwonnen Welvaart. The Hague: Staatsdrukkerij, 1954.

Ovink, G. W. Familiebladen als zedevormers. The Hague: Netherlands Periodical Proprietors Association, 1959.

Some Facts and Figures on the Dutch Periodical Press. Netherlands Periodical Proprietors Association, 1949.

Wiardi Beeckman Stichting. Bevolkingsgroei en maatschappelijke verantwoordelijkheid. Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1955.

Newspapers

New York Times, 1950-1960.

Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant, July 1, 1959 - December 31, 1959.

Volkskrant, July 1, 1959 - December 31, 1959.

Utrechts Nieuwsblad, July 1, 1959 - December 31, 1959.

Interviews

Professor S.J. Groenman, Professor of Sociology, University of Utrecht, November 2, 1959.

Professor A.N.J. den Hollander, Professor of Sociology and Director of the America Institute, Municipal University of Amsterdam, October 21, 1959.

James M. McDonald, Jr., Office of the Assistant Director for Europe, United States Information Agency, June 1959.

Professor M. Rooij, Professor of Journalism and Director of Press Institute, Municipal University of Amsterdam, October 20, 1959.

Dr. Maarten Schneider, Editor of Internationale Spectator, Executive Secretary of Netherlands Society for International Affairs, lecturer in journalism, Municipal University of Amsterdam, November 20, 1959.

Many and repeated interviews with various personnel of United States Information Service, The Hague, Netherlands.

#### Personal Letters

From Earle H. Balch, Cultural Affairs Officer, United States Information Service, The Hague, dated October 2, 1959.

From Dr. W. J. Jong, Chairman of Geographic Society in The Netherlands, dated October 27, 1959.

From Ben Posner, Budget Officer, United States Information Agency, dated February 24, 1960.

#### Other Sources

Virtually all materials, other than News Bulletin, Labor News Bulletin and Cultural Bulletin, published by United States Information Service, The Hague, during 1958 and 1959.